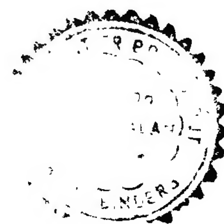


THE

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IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, Etc., Etc.,

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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

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DYNASTIC CONTINUITY IN VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY.

BY B. A. SALETORE, PH.D. (LOND.).

IN the following paper I shall make an attempt to trace the relationship between the Âravîḍu, Tuḷuva, Sâḷuva and Saṅgama dynasties which ruled over the Vijayanagara Empire, and the connection between the last one and the Hoysala House. We are not concerned here with the question whether or not the founders cf Vijayanagara were of Karṇâṭaka or Telugu origin.

I. Hoysala-Saṅgama Continuity.

In the year of their accession to power the five sons of Saṅgama gave public demonstration to their relationship with the royal family that preceded them in supremacy in Southern India, in an epigraph dated 1346 A.D., in which they recorded their pilgrimage to the famous Śriṅgêri *maṭha*. Among other interesting facts mentioned in this important inscription, we find Ballappa Daṇṇâyaka given the epithet of *aḷiya* or son-in-law.[1] An inquiry into the antecedents of this person settles once for all the question of the relationship of the sons of Saṅgama with the rulers of the Hoysala-*vaṁśa*. But in tracing the lineage of Vallappa or Ballappa Daṇṇâyaka one cannot help entering into a digression in order to examine the validity of a statement made by the Rev. Fr. Henry Heras, who writes in his *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History* thus about Vallappa :—"This Vallapa-daṇṇâyaka, the son of the great minister of Ballaḷa III, who became the great minister in the palace of the said Emperor, whose nephew he was on his mother's side, had married a daughter of Harihara I, as he is called Harihara's Aliya; and from this marriage we know of a son named Tanan."[2]

The epigraphs prove that Vallappa was the *aḷiya* of Harihara I., but do not suggest in the least that he was the nephew of Ballâḷa "on his mother's side." The reason why Fr. Heras has arrived at an untenable conclusion is probably due to the fact that he has confounded two persons who bore almost the same name and held almost the same office.[3] These were Dâḍiya Sômaya (or, as he was also called, Sômeya) and Mayduna Sômaya.

The following considerations will invalidate any such identification based on a mere similarity in names :—

(*a*) The titles or *birudas* which the two assumed, and

(*b*) Their relative position in the history of the times.

(*a*) The *birudas* of Mayduna (i.e., sister's husband) Sômaya were the following :—'Champion over princes who are very fond of their bodies'; 'champion over princes who, having made a gift to-day, say "No" to-morrow'; 'champion over princes who, having made a gift, brood on it.'

He is also called a Daṇṇâyaka.[4]

Dâḍiya Sômaya is styled a Daṇṇâyaka[5] but is more commonly called a *pradhâna* (minister)[6] and a *mahâ-pradhâna*.[7]

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[1] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VI, Sg. 1, p. 92, Text, p. 348.
[2] Heras, *The Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, p. 92.
[3] Heras, *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.
[4] *Mysore Archæological Report for 1912-13*, p. 40.
[5] *Ep. Car.*, X, Mr. 28, p. 163.
[6] *Ibid.*, Ht. 43, p. 92, Text, p. 206.
[7] *Ibid.*, Ht. 75, Text, pp. 45.

(*b*) *Their position*—

Mayduna Sômaya Daṇṇâyaka fought against Leṅkampela of Hoḷalakeṟe in 1303 A.D.[8] In the same year we see him as the governor of Bemmatturu-durga (mod. Chitaldroog), and in a battle with Kampila Dêva, the general of the Seuṇa army, he lost his life.[9] 1303 A.D. is, therefore, the last date for Mayduna Sômaya Daṇṇâyaka.

But Dâḍiya Sômaya Daṇṇâyaka lived for 39 years more! A record dated (*śaka-varsha*) *1240 neya Kâlayukta-saṁvatsarada Mâgha śu.* 12(=1318 A.D., Saturday, 14th February) informs us that as *mahâ-pradhâna* or great minister, he, together with Mâradêvi-dêva, granted to Jôgai Akkalâḍu-paṭṭaṇa-svâmi Parepa Śeṭṭi a *śâsana* which is unfortunately illegible.[10] In 1339 A.D., according to another effaced inscription, Dâḍiya Sômaya with Râyaṇa and Bâṇa Jallappa-daṇṇâyaka made a grant which is also illegible.[11]

The confusion between the two persons, Dâḍiya Sômaya and Mayduna Sômaya, arises not only because of their names but because of the fact that one of their sons was also called by an identical name. Mayduna Sômaya's son was called Siṅgeya Daṇṇâyaka, and Dâḍiya Sômaya's son was also called Siṅgeya Daṇṇâyaka. But these two persons were not the same for the following reasons.

Mayduna Sômaya's son Siṅgeya Daṇṇâyaka died in 1322 A.D., while fighting for his master Vîra Pâṇḍya against the latter's own son Samudra Pâṇḍya. His *birudas*, we may incidentally note, were the following: 'An adamantine cage to refugees'; 'protector of refugees'; 'an elephant goad to warriors'; 'champion over youths who are fond of their bodies.'

But the last date for Dâḍiya Sômaya's son Siṅgeya Daṇṇâyaka is 1338 A.D. He was ruling over Śiṅguṇi in 1302 A.D. together with Vaichaya Nâyaka.[12] In about 1330 A.D. he is called one of the ministers of Ballâḷa III.[13] He is called by the same name in 1331 A.D.[14] But in 1337 A.D. he is styled a *mahâ-pradhâna* (great minister).[15] In a record of the next year, too, he is given the same high position.[16]

Siṅgeya Daṇṇâyaka, who was thus the son of Dâḍiya Sômaya Daṇṇâyaka,[17] had a younger brother called Vallappa Daṇṇâyaka. We gather this from records of 1336, 1338, 1342 and 1343 A.D.[18] To these we must add those epigraphs which clearly say that he was the son of Dâḍiya Sômaya. These range from 1333 to 1346 A.D.[19] Among these is one

[8] *My. Arch. Rep.*, 1912-13, p. 45.

[9] *My. Arch. Rep. for 1912-13*, p. 40.

[10] *Ep. Car.*, IX, Kn. 69, p. 129, Text, p. 129; Swamikannu, *The Indian Ephemeris*, IV, p. 238. Rice gives the date as 1339 A.D.

[11] *Ep. Car.*, IX, Ht. 43, *loc. cit.* I may incidentally note that this Dâḍiya Sômaya was not the same as Sômarasa whom Fr. Heras identifies with the former (*Beginnings*, p. 91). Sômarasa is called *aramaneya pradhâna* (house-minister) in 1318 A.D. *Ep. Car.*, IX, Cp. 73, p. 146. Since an *aramaneya-pradhâna* and a *mahâ-pradhâna* have never been the same in Karṇâṭaka history, we may presume that Sômarasa was altogether a different person from Dâḍiya Sômaya. The references given in this connection in the *Beginnings* to "Hk" in *Ep. Car.* should all be to "Ht."

[12] *Ep. Car.*, IX, An. 80, p. 118. See *ibid.*, Ht. 139, p. 106, for Tamma Siṅgeya Daṇṇâyaka.

[13] *Ibid.*, Ht. 56, p. 94.

[14] *Ibid.*, Ht. 140, p. 106.

[15] *Ep. Car.*, X, Bp. 63, p. 151. He is called here Data Siṅgeya, evidently an error for Dati Siṅgeya.

[16] *Ibid.*, Bp. 10, p. 137.

[17] *Ep. Car.*, IX, An. 84, p. 119.

[18] *Ibid.*, Ht. 134, p. 105, Ht. 90, p. 98; *Ep. Car.*, X, Bp. 10, p. 137, Mr. 16, p. 160.

[19] *Ep. Car.*, X, Mr. 28, p. 163; *Ep. Car.*, VI, Cm. 105, pp. 49-50; *Ep. Car.*, IX, Ht. 75, p. 96.

which tells us that Dâḍiya Sômaya Daṇṇâyaka himself was "the minister descended from that king (Ballâḷa III) (*tasya râjânvaya*).[20] The conclusion which may be drawn from this is that Vallappa Daṇṇâyaka was, therefore, also of Hoysala descent.

But this conclusion of ours needs modification, since there are other records, issued by Vallappa himself and by responsible officers of Ballâḷa III, which call him the younger brother of Siṅgeya Daṇṇâyaka, who is called the son of that Hoysala monarch. The epigraphs which contain this information are mostly in Tamil. They date from 1328 to 1339 A.D. We are told the following in these records :—.... *Vîra Vallâḷa Dêvar kumârar Dâṭi Siṅge-daṇṇâyak-kar tambiyar Vallappa Daṇṇâyakar.*[21]

How can we reconcile these apparently conflicting statements that Vallappa was the son of Dâḍiya Sômaya, and that he was brother of Siṅgeya, who was the son of Ballâḷa III? I confess it is difficult to understand these statements except on the following supposition. We know that, in the course of the Muhammadan invasions, Vîra Ballâḷa III's son, Prince Vîra Virûpâksha Ballâḷa, was captured by the enemy, and that his return to the capital was commemorated by a remission of taxes in 1313 A.D.[22] During the absence of Virû-pâksha Ballâḷa, or for some considerations unknown to us, Ballâḷa III may have adopted Siṅgeya Daṇṇâyaka as his son or crown-prince. This explains why only Siṅgeya, and not Vallappa, is called the son of Ballâḷa III.

However that may be, Vallappa's position in Hoysala history deserves notice. He continued to hold the high office of *mahâ-pradhâna*, which his father Dâḍiya Sômaya had held before him in 1342 A.D.[23] He is called the chief minister of Ballâḷa III in 1343 A.D.[24] But, as narrated above, he is called the *aḷiya* of Harihara I in 1346 A.D. Now, when did he become an *aḷiya* of Harihara I? According to the Rev. Fr. Heras, he married a daughter of Harihara "earlier than this date" (i.e., that referring to the death of Ballâḷa III, or, in other words, before 1343 A.D.)[25] But I am inclined to place the date of this marriage—if it took place at all—in 1346 A.D. No inscription before 1346 A.D. ever refers to him as *aḷiya*, but in that year there are at least three records which call him *aḷiya* Vallappa. One of these is the Śriṅgêri record already cited above. The second is in Tamil, and it calls him *Ariya* (அரிய) Vallappa Daṇṇâyaka.[26] Evidently the word *ariya* is a Tamil form of the Kannaḍa *aḷiya*. A copper-plate grant in the Śriṅgêri *maṭha*, also dated in the same year, confirms the evidence of these records.[27]

From the above considerations we may conclude that Vallappa was the son of Dâḍiya Sômaya, that, therefore, he was directly connected with the Hoysala dynasty, and that he was the *aḷiya* of Harihara I.[28]

20 *Ep. Car.*, IX, Ht. 43, p. 92, Text, p. 206.

21 *Ep. Car.*, IX, P. II, Mr. 10, 18, pp. 94, 97, *Ep. Car.*, IX, Ht. 104, p. 101, n. 1, Text, p. 52; Ht. 96, Text, p. 48; *My. Arch. Report for 1913-14*, pp. 44-5.

22 *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sh. 68, p. 26.

23 *Ep. Car.*, IX, Ht. 90, p. 98.

24 *Ibid.*, Ht. 75, 96.

25 Heras, *Beginnings*, p. 92. Fr. Heras also writes : ". . . and from this marriage we know of a son named Tanan." (*Ibid.*) While it is true that the record gives us the name of Tanan, it does not say anything about the marriage. Nothing about the marriage can be made out from this disjointed epigraph. See *Ep. Car.*, X, Mr. 18, p. 160.

26 *Ep. Car.*, X, P. II. Mr. 61, p. 104.

27 *My. Arch. Report for 1916*, p. 57.

28 We cannot determine the exact relationship in this connection too, since *aḷiya* may stand for son-in-law or nephew.

II. Saṅgama-Sâḷuva Continuity. (A)

Winning over Vallappa to their side was a diplomatic achievement which had its effect on the rise of the sons of Saṅgama in the Karṇâṭaka. We shall not enter into this question, but shall now describe how by another, and an equally diplomatic stroke, these new rulers strengthened their position in the land. This was by a dynastic marriage with the ancient Sâḷuvas, whose history we shall describe in detail in a subsequent paper. Meanwhile we may observe the source which gives us this piece of information. In a drama called *Nârâyaṇavilâsa*, written by Prince Virûpâksha, grandson of Râma and (grand)son of Bukka, we are told that Harihara married a princess called Mallâ Dêvî.

The verse upon which this is based is the following :—

P(a)utro Bukka-narêndrasya dauhitro Râma-bhûpatêḥ |
Vidyatê hi Virûpâksho râja-Harihara-âtmajaḥ [29]

Rao Bahadur Veṅkayya identified the Râma Dêva mentioned in the above drama with the Yâdava ruler Râmachandra.[30] But the late Mr. T. A. Gôpinâtha Râo rightly disproved the contention of the late Mr. Veṅkayya on the ground that the disparity in the ages of the Yâdava ruler Râmachandra (1271-1309 A.D.) and Harihara II (1375-1406 A.D.) made it impossible for us to accept the identification thus suggested.[31] But Mr. Gôpinâth Râo failed to tell us who this Râma Dêva was. I identify him with Sâḷuva Râma Dêva, son of Sâḷuva Kâya Dêva. He is mentioned in a record dated 1384 A.D. as fighting against the Muhammadans at Warangal and losing his life, evidently in the siege of Koṭṭakoṇḍa.[32] There is nothing improbable in Harihara II having married a daughter of Sâḷuva Râma Dêva. If this is accepted, we find that the Saṅgama dynasty was also connected with the Sâḷuva family.

Saṅgama-Sâḷuva Continuity. (B)

The marriage of Harihara II with Mallâ Dêvî marks one step in the direction of the Saṅgama-Sâḷuva alliance. When we come to the times of Dêva Râya II (1419-1446 A.D.) we meet with another link which knit the ancient family of the Sâḷuvas with the new dynasty of Vijayanagara. A record dated 1430 A.D. tells us that " his (i.e., Dêva Râya II's) elder sister Harimâ's husband was Sâḷuva Tippa Dêva, an ornament to the Lunar race, a royal swan at the feet of Kaṁsâri (Kṛishṇa)." [33] Round this person of Sâḷuva Tippa centre certain considerations. Who was he, and what brought about this alliance between the Saṅgama and Sâḷuva houses ? We can only conjecture about the latter : political necessity coupled with a desire to strengthen his Yâdava descent may have induced Dêva Râya II to give his sister in marriage to Sâḷuva Tippa Dêva. These suppositions are less interesting than those relating to the identity of Sâḷuva Tippa.

Bearing the above in mind, we now turn to the Telugu works entitled *Varâhapurâṇam* and *Jaiminî Bhâratam*. According to these, and also according to inscriptions, the Sâḷuva family traced its origin to Yadu. The earliest historical personage mentioned in the *Varâhapurâṇam* is Vaṅki Dêva. From him descended Guṇḍa, who had six sons, of whom Sâḷuva Maṅgu was the greatest. This remarkable general needs a separate treatment for himself. Sâḷuva Maṅgu had six sons, the eldest amongst whom was Gauta. He had four sons named Guṇḍa, Sâḷuva, Boppa and Tippa. The *Jaiminî Bhâratam* eulogises Tippa, whose *birudas* were Mîsaragaṇḍa, Kaṭhâri Sâḷuva and Pañchaghaṇṭâninâda.[34]

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29 Seshagiri Sastry, *Report on Sanskrit and Tamil MSS. for 1896-97*, p. 90.

30 *Ep. Report for the Southern Circle for 1899*, p. 22 ; *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 225 ; *Ep. Ind.*, V, *Ad. Cor.*, p. v ; *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 299.

31 *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 11.

32 *Ep. Car.*, XII, Ck. 15, p. 75, Text, p. 212.

33 *Ep. Car.*, XI, Cd. 29, p. 9.

34 Ramayya Pantulu, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, pp. 75-77.

This youngest son of Gauta, as Mr. Veṅkayya rightly suggested,[35] may be identified with Sâḷuva Tippa, the brother-in-law of Dêva Râya II. The validity of this supposition rests on the similarity of the titles given to Sâḷuva Tippa in the Telugu works and in the few inscriptions we have of him (*Mîsaragaṇḍa*, and *Kaṭhâri Sâḷuva*), and on the fact whether or not he was a contemporary of Dêva Râya II. We know that Tippa's grandfather, as related above, was Sâḷuva Maṅgu,[36] the famous general of Kampaṇa Oḍeyar, the conqueror of Madura. Sâḷuva Maṅgu may also have been a contemporary of Harihara II, and his son Gauta, of Dêva Râya I, the son of Harihara II. This brings Tippa to the reign of Dêva Râya II. Our surmise is based on an inscription dated Śaka 1364, expired Durmati (1441 A.D.), which informs us that the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara Gaṇḍakaṭṭâri* Sâḷuva Tippaya Dêva Mahârâja remitted certain specified taxes in favour of the Kharapurîśvara temple at Tiruppâṟkaḍal in the North Arcot district, in the reign of Dêva Râya Mahârâya.[37] His last date may have been 1449 A.D. This is inferred from a record dated Śaka 1371, Śukla, Mâgha, Śu. 5, Thursday,[38] which informs us that Daḷavâyi Mallinêniṅgâru constructed the temple of Kêśava Perumâḷ in Duggumbâḍu, Guntur district, on behalf of the village (?) for the merit of Mîsaragaṇḍa Kaṭṭâri Sâḷuva Tippaya Dêva Mahârâja. His inscriptions, which range from 1441 to 1449 A.D., therefore, enable us to assert that he was a contemporary of Dêva Râya II.[39]

Saṅgama-Sâḷuva Continuity. (C)

We now continue with the Telugu works *Varâhapurâṇam* and *Jaiminî Bhâratam* with a view to ascertain the genealogy of the famous usurper Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁha. Sâḷuva Tippa's eldest brother, as mentioned above, was Guṇḍa, whose two sons were Timma and Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁha. About Timma there is an epigraph dated Śaka 1385, Subhânu (1463 A.D.) which calls him Timmarâja-dêva Mahârâja Oḍeyar, son of Guṇḍarâja Oḍeyar. This Tamil record found in the Veṅkaṭêśvara Perumâḷ temple at Tirumala, contains a gift for the merit of Narasiṅgarâja Oḍeyar.[40] We are not sure whether we have to identify the Narasiṅga Oḍeyar mentioned in this inscription with the usurper Nṛisiṁha of Vijayanagara history, whose accession to the throne is still a matter of dispute.[41] Perhaps the Narasiṅgarâja mentioned above may have been the younger brother of Guṇḍa, and, therefore, one of the uncles of Timma, mentioned in the Telugu works merely under the name of Sâḷuva. This is only a supposition. We proceed, however, with the history of Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁha.

The late Mr. Kṛishṇa Śâstri wrote the following on Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁha: "The Nagar epigraph, which is dated in Śaka 1378, Dhâtṛi, seems to refer to the Sâḷuva *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Narasiṅgadêva-Ma(hârâja). This is the earliest reference to Narasiṅga in inscriptions."[42] Before we proceed to examine this assertion of Mr. Kṛishṇa Śâstri, we may note that in this inscription, found in the Nâgavaṇṇa Perumâḷ temple at Nagar, South Arcot district, he is

35 *Ep. Report for 1905*, pp. 54-55.

36 On Sâḷuva Maṅgu and his times read Gaṅgâdêvî, *Madhurâvijayam*, Int. p. 35 (Ed. Srinivasa-Harihara Sastri); *The Sources of Vijayanagara History, Jaiminî Bhâratam*, pp. 29-30; *ibid.*, xx, Kamparâya-charitam, pp. 23-25; 52 of 1905; *Ep. Report for 1905*, pp. 54-55; Heras, *The Âraviḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 105.

37 703 of 1904. Another record dated Śaka 136 (3) Durmati merely mentions the fact of his having set up a *dvajasthambha* in the Vaṭâraṇyêśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅgâḍu in the same district, without mentioning his overlord.—498 of 1905.

38 This corresponds to 1449 A.D., January, Wednesday 4th. The week day does not correspond. 771 of 1922; Swamikannu, *Indian Ephemeris*, V, p. 100.

39 He seems to have lived till 1463 A.D. according to Rice, *Ep. Car.*, X. Intr., xxxv.

40 249 of 1904; Swamikannu, *ibid.*, V, p. 128.

41 Ramayya Pantulu, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 76 seq., Venkayya, *Ep. Report for 1904*, pp. 15-16; *Ep. Report for 1905*, p. 51; *Ep. Report for 1923*, p. 118.

42 *Ep. Report for 1911*, p. 84. Prof. Rangachari merely repeats this error in his *Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, I, 732, p. 213.

called *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara Mêdinimisâra* Narasiṅga Dêva Mahârâja.[43] The above inscription is not, however, the earliest record of the Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁha. He is mentioned as the son of Guṇḍaya Dêva Mahârâja in an epigraph found in the Veṅkaṭêśvara Perumâḷ temple at Tirumala, North Arcot district. This record is dated Śaka 1373, Dhâtṛi. The Śaka year corresponds to 1451 A.D., but the cyclic year does not correspond.[44] From the fact that Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁha's records appear from 1451 till 1467 A.D. in the modern North Arcot district[45] we may assume that he was in that region probably in the capacity of a provincial governor. He may have been transferred to the northern districts in about 1477 A.D. for reasons not known to us for the present. We infer that he was in the northern districts somewhere in that year from an unfinished record dated Śaka 1399, Hêmalambi, found at Attirala, Cuddapah district. This epigraph relates that Aṇṇamarasayya came to Araturêvulu, and set right certain specified matters in the Kṛitṛiśvara, Paraśurâmêśvara and Bhairava temples, for the merit of Narasiṅgayya Dêva Mahârâja.[46] I shall not enter into the question whether the absence of the sovereign's name in the record need necessarily be interpreted as meaning that Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁha was an independent ruler. Such is the opinion of some[47] to whose views it is not always possible to subscribe.

The relationship of Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁha to the Saṅgama family seems to have been more or less well known to the people. This accounts for the following observation by Nuniz :—"One of his (Pedarao's) captains who was called Narsymgua, who was in some manner akin to him, seeing his mode of life and knowing how ill it was for the kingdom that he should live and reign, though all was not yet lost, determined to attack him, and seize on his lands; which scheme he at once put into force."[48] The fact that Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁha, and not any one of the numerous powerful lords of the kingdom, set aside the incompetent monarch whom Nuniz calls Pedarao (Prauḍha-Râya ?), suggests that he alone had the best claim to the throne. In the above remark cf Nuniz there may be a reference to the indirect relationship of Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁha to the Saṅgama family through Sâḷuva Tippa.

III. Sâḷuvas and Tuḷuvas. (A)

Before we revert to the successors of Sâḷuva Tippa, we may note the descent of Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya, since this helps us to solve the question of the Sâḷuva-Tuḷuva alliance. According to inscriptions and literature, as is well known, the progenitor of the so-called Tuḷuva line was Timma, who is styled a ruler famous among the Tuḷuva kings. He had by his wife Dêvakî a son called Îśvara, whose wife was called Bukkamma. Their son was known as Narasa, who had three wives—Tippâji, the mother of Vîra Narasiṁha; Nâgala Dêvî, of Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya; and Ôbâmbikâ, of Achyuta.[49]

We start with Timma, the earliest known figure in the Tuḷuva dynasty. It is a significant fact that in the Vijayanagara inscriptions discovered so far, the name of the person who preceded Timma is not given. On the other hand, Timma's descent, as we shall presently state, is traced directly to a mythological figure. Obviously this is impossible, for we know that Timma was the great-grandfather of Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya. We know too that both Îśvara Nâyaka and Narasa Nâyaka were contemporaries of Sâḷuva Narasiṅga. This is

[43] 304 of 1910. The ruler Prauḍha-Dêva Râya Mahârâja is also mentioned.

[44] 253 of 1904; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephemeris*, V, p. 104.

[45] Cf. 250 of 1904 dated Śaka 1389, Sarvajit (1467 A.D.) recording a gift by the same to the same temple.

[46] 405 of 1911.

[47] G. Veṅkôba Râo, *Ep. Report for 1923*, p. 118; 112 of 1923.

[48] Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 306-307.

[49] *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sh. 1, p. 1; *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 232; Butterworth & Venugopal Chetty, *Inscriptions in the Nellore District*, I, p. 73; *Ep. Report for 1889* (February), p. 2; *Ep. Report for 1890* (Oct.), p. 3; *Ep. Report for 1912*, p. 80; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 118.

proved by an inscription found in the Sômanâthêśvara temple at Melpâḍi, Chittor district. It is dated Śaka 1379, Îśvara, Âḍi, 20 (=1457 A.D., July, Monday the 18th). Îśvara Nâyaka is called the *daḷavâyi* of Sâḷuva Narasiṅga Dêva.[50] He continued to be the general of the same ruler till 1478 A.D. We infer this from a record dated Śaka 1400, Viḷambi (1478 A.D., April), found in the Tiruviraṭṭânêśvara temple at Tiruvadi, Cuddalore Taluka, South Arcot district. He is also called the *daḷavâyi* of *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Narasiṅgaya Dêva Mahârâja.[51] Perhaps he is the same Îśvara Nâyaka who is mentioned in a record found in the Kâmêśvara temple at Âragalûr, Salem district, and dated only in the cyclic year Plava (i.e., Śaka 1403=1481 A.D.)[52] As regards Narasa Nâyaka we have the following records. An inscription found in the Chandramauḷêśvara temple at Tiruvakkarai, South Arcot district, and dated only in the cyclic year Śôbhakṛit, but assignable to the Śaka year 1404 (1482 A.D.), informs us that Nârasa Nâyaka (evidently an error for Narasa Nâyaka) was the agent of the king Sâḷuva Narasiṅga Dêva.[53] In an age when some high offices were hereditary, it is not improbable that Narasa Nâyaka should have succeeded his father as agent (for the affairs) of the king in the same district. By Śaka 1420, Piṅgaḷa, Chaitra, Śu., Saturday (=1497 A.D., March 18th, Saturday), Narasa Nâyaka seems to have risen in the estimation of the ruler. This may be inferred from an inscription of that date found in the Râmaswâmi temple at Râmapuram, Anantapur district, which states that Kâchapa Nâyaka of Âdavâni, son of Immaḍi Kâchapa Nâyaka, held the district of Râyadurga-châvaḍi as a fief from Narasiṅga Râya Mahârâya and Narasaṇa Nâyaka.[54] Two other records dated 1499 A.D. call him agent for the affairs of Mêdinimisâra Gaṇḍakaṭhâri Sâḷuva Narasiṁha Râya.[55] We may here note that Narasa Nâyaka died in Śaka 1425, Rudhirôdgârin (1503 A.D.) This is inferred from a record found in the Bṛihadâmbâ temple at Dêvikâpuram, North Arcot district, which informs us that his subordinates Tirumalai Nâyaka and Îsura Nâyaka gave a gift of land and house in the village of Kailâsa, to a certain Samarapuṅgava Dîkshita, for the merit of Svâmi Narasa Nâyaka " who went to Śiva-lôka " (i.e., died).[56]

As related above, Îśvara's father was called Timma. It is true that he is called Timma of the Tuḷuva line. The history of Tuḷuva (roughly modern South Kanara) does not afford any clue to the identity of this chief. The ancient dynasty that ruled over Tuḷuva was that of the Âlupa (or Âḷuva) kings of Udayâvara. There was of course also that of the Sâḷuvas, which ruled from Saṅgîtapura. The later rulers, who established their principality at Kârkaḷa, could trace their descent to the Śântaras of Hombuchchhapura (modern Humcha) on the Western Ghâṭs.[57] Whether Timma, the father of Îśvara, was in any way connected with these rulers or with the petty chieftains of Chandâvûru or Sêtu, I am unable to say. But it seems more probable that he was essentially Sâḷuva in descent, as the following considerations seem to prove.

We are told in a record assigned to 1434 A.D. that "by order of Dêva Râya Mahârâya, Lakkaṇṇa Oḍeyar and Mâdaṇṇa Oḍeyar gave Têkaḷ" to Sâḷuva Gôpa Râya, son of Sâḷuva

50 107 of 1921 ; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephemeris*, V, p. 117.

51 408 of 1921. He is not to be confounded with Îsura or Îśvara Nâyaka, son of Ettappa Nâyaka, mentioned in Śaka 1422 (1520-21 A.D.) together with his brother Tirumalai Nâyaka. These two brothers were officers under Narasa Nâyaka. 355 of 1912 ; 401 of 1912.

52 422 of 1913.

53 198 of 1904.

54 719 of 1917 ; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephemeris*, V, p. 196.

55 *Ep. Car.*, IX, Cp. 52, p. 143 ; *Ep. Car.*, X, Mr. 5, p. 156.

56 357 of 1912 ; see also *Ep. Report for 1913*, p. 121.

57 Hultzsch, *Ep. India*, IX, p. 15 seq. ; Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 84 (1882) ; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*. p 137 ; *Ep. Car.*, VII, Intr., pp. 19-20.

Tippa Râya.[58] The reason why Têkaḷ was made over by a special order of the king is not stated; but we assume that consequent on the marriage of Harimâ with Sâḷuva Tippa, Dêva Râya may have thought it prudent to confer on Sâḷuva Gôpa the principality of Têkaḷ. It may be that Sâḷuva Gôpa had already become conspicuous in the Tuḷuva-nâḍu, where the Sâḷuvas had a firm footing at *Saṅgîtapura*; and that it was necessary to curtail their power by entrusting to the care of Sâḷuva Gôpa a province which was distant from Tuḷuva. These are, we admit, only suppositions for the present. While discussing the history of Sâḷuva Gôpa, we come across certain difficulties both from the point of chronology and the several names which one and the same person bears. Nevertheless one may venture to make the suggestion that Sâḷuva Gôpa's son was Tirumala Dêva or Gôpa Timma or Timma, the founder of the Tuḷuva line of Vijayanagara.

This view, which goes against all opinion, which till now has taken the so-called Tuḷuva family of Vijayanagara to be a distinct branch of rulers, needs to be examined. Sâḷuva Gôpa's inscriptions as Viceroy of Têkaḷ range from about 1434 A.D. to about 1442 A.D.[59] They are found in the Mâlûr Tâluka of the Kolar district. The *birudas* assumed by him are *Kaṭhâri Sâḷuva*, *Mêdinimisaragaṇḍa*, Establisher of Śambuvarâya, and *Gaṇḍaragûḷi*. These are evidently the same as those which his father Tippa assumed, except that of *Pañchaghaṇṭâninâda*, which may have been given to Sâḷuva Tippa for some act of personal bravery about which we are ignorant. Now, these are the same *birudas* which are given to Tirumalai Dêva, whose inscriptions date from about 1448 A.D. to about 1475-6 A.D. These are found in the Śrînivâsa Perumâḷ temple, Pâpanâsam,[60] Gôpinâtha Perumâḷ temple near Paṭṭisam,[61] Subramaṇya temple at Tiruviḍaikkali,[62] Agnîśvara temple at Tirukkâṭṭuppaḷḷi,[63] and Râmânandîśvara temple at Tirukkaṇṇaparam.[64] The ruler referred to in most of these inscriptions—which are all found in the Tanjore district—is Mallikârjuna Râya. Mr. Veṅkôba Râo, commenting on two of these inscriptions found at Pâpanâsam, writes thus:—"In one of them he (Sâḷuva Tirumalai Dêva Mahârâja) is called 'the Establisher of Śambuvarâya.' He is evidently no other than Gôpa-Timma, who is mentioned as an independent king in an inscription at Tanjore (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. II, page 117 ff.)"[65] Although it is not possible for one to agree with Mr. Veṅkôba Râo in his conclusion regarding the independent position of the prince in question, yet it is not perhaps improbable that his identification of Gôpa-Timma with Tirumalai Dêva is correct. In his *Annual Report for 1925* Mr. Veṅkôba Râo goes one step further in his identification of Tirumalai Dêva. He writes thus: "......the chief Tirumalayyadêva-mahârâya was the son of Sâḷuva Gôpa and the brother of Sâḷuva Gôpa-Tippa...."[66] The justification for this assertion is to be found in a record dated Śaka 1375, Śrîmukha (1453 A.D.), which tells us that Tirumalai-râya was the son of Goppa-râya. This epigraph was found in the Vîraṭṭânêśvara

58 *Ep. Car.*, X, Mr. 1, p. 155, and n. (1).

59 *Ep. Car.*, X., Mr. 1, 2, 3, pp. 155-6; *Mys. Arch. Report for 1913-4*, p. 47.

60 This is dated Śaka 1370, Prajâpati, expired. 448 of 1922. The cyclic year does not correspond. Śaka 1370=Vibhava; Śaka 1373=Prajâpati. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephemeris*, V, pp. 98, 104.

61 524 of 1920 (see also 527 of 1920); 452 of 1922; 456 of 1922.

62 270 of 1925.

63 55 of 1897. This is dated only in the cyclic year Vikrama, which may perhaps refer to Śaka 1382 (1460 A.D.).

64 534 of 1922.

65 *Ep. Rep. for 1923*, p. 118.

66 *Ep. Rep. for 1925*, p. 89. On Śaḷuva Tippa see 388 of 1911 dated only in the cyclic year Duṇḍubhi (Śaka 1364); 482 of 1922 dated Śaka 1396; 528 of 1920 undated; *Ep. Rep. for 1923*, p. 118. He has been identified by Mr. Veṅkôba Râo with the commentator of the *Kâvyâlaṅkârasûtra* and two other works, one on music and the other on dancing.

temple at Tiruvaḍi, South Arcot district. I confess that it is not possible to explain why Tirumalai Dêva's inscription of 1453 A.D. should have been found in the South Arcot district when, as related above, most of his records refer us to the Tanjore district. We can only suppose that all these districts together formed the jurisdiction of one provincial ruler in those days, or that Tirumalai Dêva was in the South Arcot district in 1453 A.D. on some state business.

This last assumption would enable us to understand the identification of Tirumalai Dêva with Gôpa-Timma and Timma. A record dated Śaka 1385 expired, Subhânu (1463 A.D.), found in the Raṅganâtha temple at Śrîraṅgam, Trichinopoly, calls Tirumalai Dêva by the name of Gôpa-Timma. Dr. Hultzsch wrote the following on this point: "An inscription of Tirumalaidêva dated in 1463 A.D. .... establishes the correctness of my identification of this king with Timma of Tuḷuva, the founder of the second dynasty of Vijayanagara (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. II, p. 117), as, in the Sanskrit verses at the end of the inscription, the king is called Gôpa-Timma."[67]

While Dr. Hultzsch has thus enabled us to identify the Timma of Vijayanagara history, I am afraid he has not succeeded in explaining one knotty point which we come across in numerous inscriptions as well as in literature, and which till now has remained unexplained. Dr. Hultzsch wrote the following while editing a record of Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya :—"The historical part begins with the verse 5 :—'In his (viz., Turvasu's) race shone king Timma, who was famous among the princes of Tuḷuva, just as Kṛishṇa shone in the race of Yadu.' From this verse we learn, first, that the founder of the second Vijayanagara dynasty was a native of Tuḷuva or Northern Malayâḷam, the country of the northern Tuḷuvas. Secondly, he must have been a usurper, as he claims only a mythological relationship to the princes of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara. For, while the kings of this dynasty used to derive their origin from Yadu (see *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, pp. 156, 160), Timma selected, in opposition to his predecessors on the throne, Yadu's younger brother Turvasu as the mythical progenitor of his race."[68]

From the Telugu works *Varâhapurâṇam* and *Jaiminî Bhâratam*, as remarked above, we gather that Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁha claimed descent from Yadu. We know also that the rulers who belonged to the Saṅgama line likewise traced their origin to Yadu. Obviously Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁha's claims for asserting that the progenitor of the branch to which he belonged was Yadu were not ill-founded, especially when we remember that he could, as Nuniz puts it, "in some manner" point his relationship to the Saṅgama family through Sâḷuva Tippa and his own unidentified wife of the same house. But we have to explain why Turvasu is mentioned in the inscriptions of Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya and his successors as the progenitor of the so-called Tuḷuva line. It was because he, and therefore his great-grandfather Timma or Tirumala or Gopa-Timma, claimed descent from the youngest son of Gauta; while Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁha and his son Sâḷuva Narasiṅga traced their lineage to the eldest son of Gauta. Eliminating the two figures of Sâḷuva and Boppa, who do not seem to have been conspicuous, we may say that it was merely to distinguish their younger (in reality the youngest) branch from the elder (in reality the eldest) that Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya's pedigree is traced to Turvasu in opposition to Yadu, the first mythological figure in the main line to which Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁha belonged.

67 *Ep. Rep. for 1892*, p. 10. This Tirumalai Dêva is not to be confounded with Tirumalai Dêva of Śaka 1453 (1531-2 A.D.) who figures in the reign of Achyuta Râya. 253 of 1906; *Ep. Rep for 1907*, p. 85. He was the son of Salakaiyya Dêva Mahârâja. 174 of 1906.

68 *Ep. Ind.*, I. p. 362.

But objections may be raised against such an identification. If Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya really was the great-grandson of Tirumal or Timma, who was the son of Sâḷuva Gôpa, then why is it that neither in the numerous inscriptions of the same ruler and of his successors, nor in literature, is this fact mentioned ? Secondly, how can we explain the fact that the ages of Timma, Îśvara, and Narasa overlap each other to a certain extent ? The latter point I am unable to explain. As regards the former, the fact that Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya and his successors, as I shall point out in a subsequent paper, assumed Sâḷuva *birudas* suggests that they were not unaware of their Sâḷuva descent. Now comes another consideration. If Timma or Tirumala was the son of Sâḷuva Gôpa, then why is the latter not mentioned in any of the epigraphs of Narasa and his successors ? We must remember that Narasa's importance in Vijayanagara history lies in the fact of his having been a regent ; and that really it was only in the days of his eldest son, Vîra Narasiṁha, that the branch to which he belonged assumed imperial dignity.[69] According to Hindu lawgivers only three generations previous to that of the actual ruler need be given in the genealogical lists.[70] Since it was only in the times of Vîra Narasiṁha that the so-called Tuḷuva dynasty was firmly established on the Vijayanagara throne, both that ruler and his brother Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya were justified in tracing their descent from Timma or Tirumalai Dêva or Gôpa-Timma. However that may be, there cannot be any doubt that the only way of reconciling the statements made in epigraphs in connection with Yadu and Turvasu, is by realising that Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁha traced his origin to the former through Guṇḍa, and Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya to the latter through Tippa, the eldest and the youngest sons respectively of Gauta.

Sâḷuvas and Tuḷuvas. (B)

A further link in the Sâḷuva and Tuḷuva alliance is given by Nuniz, who tells us that Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya married "a very beautiful woman of the family of the kings of Narsymga ...."([71]) Who she was, and whether she was directly connected with Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁha, or whether she was a member of the many collateral branches of the Sâḷuvas spread over the country, we are unable to determine at the present stage of our investigations. If Nuniz could be relied upon, Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya seems to have made matters doubly sure by marrying a Sâḷuva princess.

IV. Tuḷuva-Âravîṭi Continuity.

The relationship between the Âravîṭi and what has been till now styled the Tuḷuva dynasty is well known. Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya's daughter Tirumalâmbâ was given in marriage to Râma Râja, the famous Regent.[72] The last figure in Vijayanagara history of any consequence, Srîraṅga Râya (1643-1664 A.D)., was, we may incidentally note, the great-grandson of Râma Râja of the Âravîṭi family. According to the Karṇâṭa grant of this same ruler Śrîraṅga Râya, Râma Râja seems also to have married a sister of Sadâśiva. If this were really so, then, the claims of the great regent to control the destinies of the Vijayanagara Empire were to great extent valid.[73]

The conclusions formulated above have been indicated on the genealogical table below.

[69] 386 of 1904 ; *Ep. Rep. for 1905*, p. 54 ; *Ep. Rep. for 1912*, p. 80.

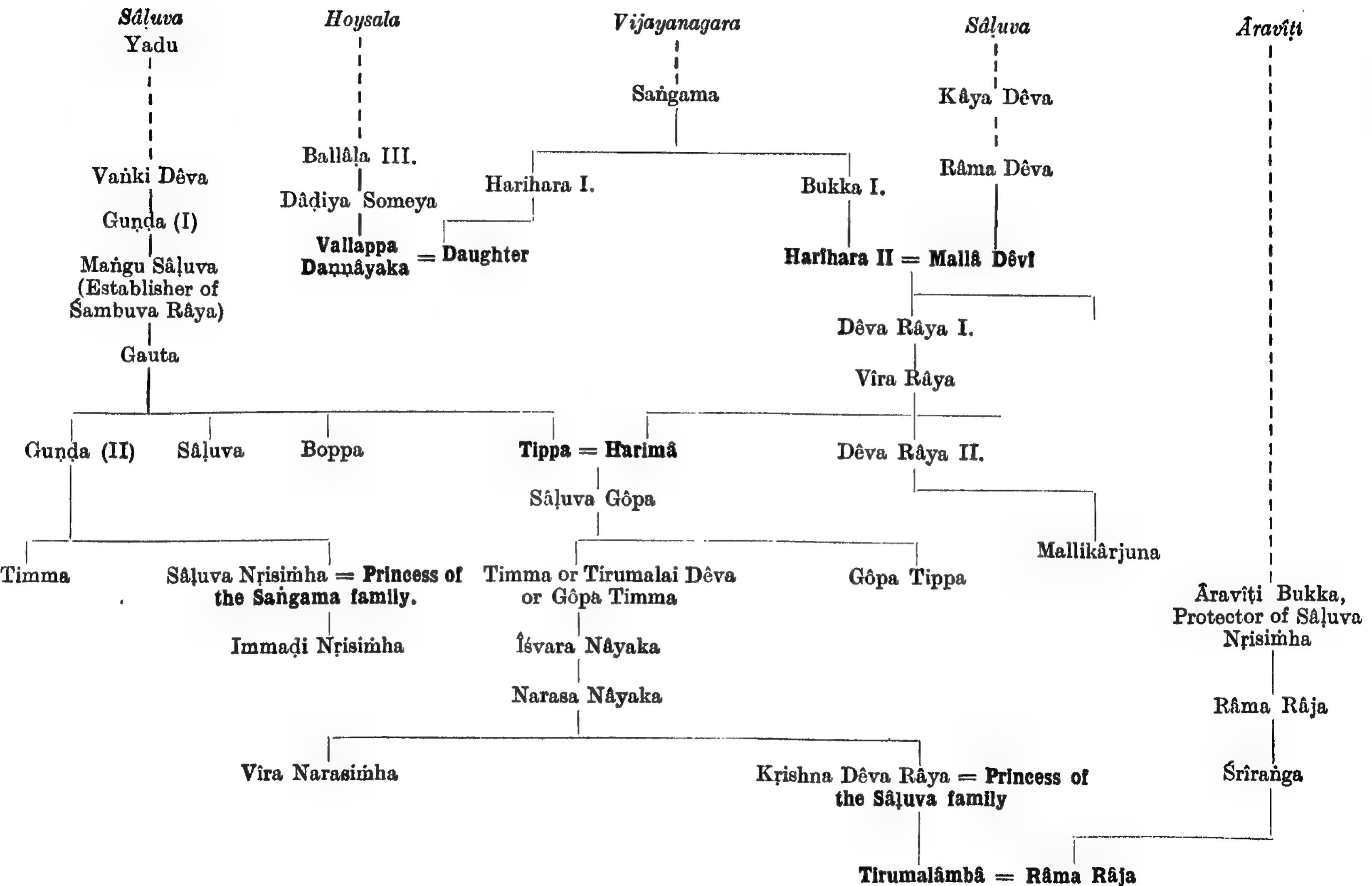
[70] Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 18. (1882 ed.) Cf. Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palæography*, p. 109. (1878 ed.)

[71] Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 363.

[72] Râmarâjiyamu, *The Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 187.

[73] Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 181, n. (4), 182 ; Hultzsch, Karṇâṭa Grant of Raṅga II, *Indian Antiquary*, XIII, pp. 154-155 ; Here Sadâśiva Râya's descent is slightly different to that given by Rice, *Ep. Car.*, III, Intr., p. 27. Kielhorn explains that the statement that Râma Râja was the husband of the sister of Sadâśiva Râya need not be taken in its literal sense. British Museum Plates of Sadâśiva Râya, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 3-4. See Râmarâjiyamu, *The Sources of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 102-103, 188, for details regarding the Âravîṭi family. Heras, *The Âraviḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, pp. 19-20, may also be read in this connection. Krishṇa Śâstri gives a detailed account of the Âravîṭi rulers, *Annual Report, A.S.I. for 1908-9*, p. 197 f.

DYNASTIC CONTINUITY IN VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY.



CAPELAN.

(*The Ruby Mines District of Burma.*)

BY THE LATE SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BT.

I HAVE had some old notes by me on this long disputed name Capelan, for the Ruby Mines District of Burma, which do not, of course, settle the difficulty, but as they may help to do so, they seem to be worth publishing.

Forbes (*British Burma*, 1878) remarks on the Ruby Mines thus (p. 25): "Kyàt-pîn (query Capelan), whence the rubies are obtained, is situated near Momiet, about seventy miles south of Bamaw, or Bhamo as we have named it." Here Forbes distinctly suggests Capelan as a European corruption of the Burmese form Kyàt-pîn, or as it would now be transliterated Kyàt-pyin. In modern Burmese pronunciation the name sounds in most mouths as Kyàppyin or even Chàppyin. This it will be seen is the ordinary derivation of the old European travellers' term Capelan, and it is probably right. Kyàtpyin is about 75 miles N. N. E. of Ava or Mandalay and 6 miles S. E. of Môgôk, the local headquarters of the Ruby Mines Company.

Tavernier, as edited by Valentine Ball in 1889 from the original French edition of 1676, says in his *Travels*, II, 99 : "There are only two places in the East where coloured stones are obtained, namely in the Kingdom of Pegu [Burma] and in the island of Ceylon. The first is a mountain twelve days or thereabouts from Siren in a north-east direction and it is called Capelan." Here Ball notes that "Siren is a mistake for Ava," and that Capelan "is Kyatpyen: its distance from Ava is about 70 miles." It will be seen below, however, that by "Siren" Tavernier probably meant Siriam near Rangoon.

From Tavernier's Siren we get a mineralogist, writing before 1882, telling us that "Capelan, the ruby-sapphire district," was "near Syrian, a city of Pegu." Thus in Mason's *Burma*, ed. Theobald, 1882, I, 11, we read : "The red sapphire is usually denominated the oriental ruby. Dana (*Mineralogy*, 1868) says, 'the best ruby sapphires occur in the Capelan mountains near Syriam, a city of Pegu.' This is an advance on Phillips, who made 'Pegu, a city in Ceylon.' Still the mineralogists make slow progress in geography. In 1833, a letter from a Roman Catholic priest, D. Amata, was published in *JASB*, which showed that the Capelan Mountains are about 70 miles north of Ava, instead of being in the vicinity of Rangoon, as they would be if 'near Syriam.' The Capelan Mountains of Dana are doubtless a corrupt form of Kyat-pen, the name of a village near the mines, and the mines themselves are simply pits sunk in the ruby producing gravel." However, taking Tavernier's statement that Siren was twelve days distant from "Capelan," and Dana's identification of it with Siriam, now a complete ruin, but in Tavernier's day an important foreign emporium, it is fair to assume that Tavernier meant Siriam and not Ava by Siren. Of course Dana's inference that Capelan was "near Siriam" is all nonsense.

In Yule's *Hobson-Jobson* the following varied spellings of Capelan appear.

1506 Leonardo Ca'Messer	Auplen.
1510 Varthema	Capellan.
1516 Barbosa	Capelam.
c. 1585 Ramusio	Capelangam.

But Kapelan or Capelan has been traced to an earlier date still, for in Nicolo Conti's narrative, recorded by Poggio in 1440, we find "Capelang, for the Ruby Country north of Ava, a name preserved to a much later date, but not now traceable:" so writes Cordier in a footnote in his edition of Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither* I, 177.

In Yule's *Embassy to Ava*, 1855, 179 f. & n., there is an ingenious guess that Capelan may represent a Palaung or Kachin word, as both Palaungs and Kachins are to be found in

the neighbourhood of the Ruby Mines. Yule writes thus as to the celebrated mines :— " Their locality is always called by the old travellers, 'Kapilan,' or 'Capelangan' sometimes spoken of as a kingdom, sometimes as a city, or as a great mountain. The name is suggestive of the *Paloungs*, a tribe inhabiting the hills immediately east of the mines. If one might hazard a further suggestion, *Kha*, signifying river in the language of the adjoining Kakhyens, *Kha-Paloun* may have been the name of the valley. The old Portuguese *Summary of Eastern Realms, Cities, and Peoples*, translated in Ramusio (vol. I.) says that about Capelangan there are '*molte terre habitate da gente non molto domestica*, a description applying strictly to the Kakhyens, if not to the more industrious Palaungs." See also *ante*, vol. LII, 134.

This is, however, unfortunately nothing more than a guess. Both the Palaungs and Kakhyens (Kachins as they are now called) are well known, and Mrs. Milne, authoress of the *Palaung Grammar*, wrote to me in 1922 in terms that rule out anything but a Burman origin for Capelan or Capellan : " In answer to your question about *Capellan* I fear that I cannot help you. I do not think that Thabeitkyim was in any way connected with rubies (but I may be mistaken), unless, for a time, a ruby market was held there. That may be possible, just as the name Golconda is connected with diamonds [from the Karnul District]. It was easy in the old days to reach Thabeitkyim by river, from Rangoon or from Mandalay, but not easy to go to Mogok or to Kyatpyin, as there were many dacoits in old times in the Ruby Mines district. I think that it is more likely that Capellan or Capelam (I think that it is so written by Barbosa) may be the same as Kyatpyin. Mogok and Kyatpyin are quite near each other, and I fancy that in old times quite as many rubies were found at Kyatpyin as were found at Mogok. Mogok is now the better known place, as it is the headquarters of the English Ruby Mines Company."

As regards Thabeitkyin, in 1927 Mr. Harold Clayton informed me that " Kyatpyin is a village on the Irrawaddy above the first defile, from which the old road up to the Ruby Mines at Môgôk used to start. This road is now almost entirely superseded by the Government metalled road, which starts from below the defile at Thabeitkyin." He then went on to make the following suggestion : " *Kyàtmyê* (*myê*=earth) is the name of a hard impervious clay, and it is quite possible that Kyàtpyin has some connection with it. *Pyin* means literally 'outside,' and the term is also used for open stretches of country. Thus *lêbyin* (*lê* = paddy field) means an open stretch of paddy fields. I have not been any distance inside from the river bank at Kyatpyin, but there is a comparatively large stretch of undulating country of a 'plain' character in that region, as compared with the hills of the Ruby Mines and the country further east. It is not particularly fertile, and so far as I am aware cultivation is confined to paddy land in bottoms and various other crops on the alluvial land by the Irrawaddy and other streams. The most likely meaning of Kyatpyin is therefore to my mind the 'clay plain.' There is no reason, I think, to infer a Chinese derivation. Kyàtpyin is not far south of Tagaung, which is an early centre of Burmese influence and one of the first capitals of Burmese kings. Kipling's derivation Lung-tang-pen is a pure invention and definitely not a Burmese formation. There is nothing resembling the Chinese word *lân* meaning 'old' in Burmese, nor have I ever heard it in connection with Kyàtpyin. *Lan* means a road or way in Burmese, and Kyàtpyinlàn (Capelan) would mean simply the 'road to Kyàtpyin.'" Here we have a reasonable derivation of Capelan.

The upshot of this brief enquiry then is that Capelan has been a constant European book name for the Ruby Mines District of Burma from at any rate 1440 onwards, and that it is a corruption of Kyàtpyinlàn, heard by Europeans as Kàppinlàn or Chàppinlàn, *i.e.*, Kyàtpyin Road—the road to one of the places where the Burma ruby or red sapphire was principally found.

My personal interest in the ruby-sapphires of Burma dates from the early days (1888) of the British occupation of Mandalay, when I had to hold official auctions of rubies in Government possession once a month.

For the benefit of enquirers I add the following information. Dr. William Crooke produced an edition of Ball's *Tavernier* in 1925, and made a note on II, 99 (II, 77, in his own edition) about Capelan: "Caplan is the place where they find the rubies, saphires, and spinelles; it standeth six dayes journey from Ava in the kingdome of Pegu" (R. Fitch, ed. Ryley, 172 f.; *cf.* Varthema, ed. Badger, 219)." In Appendix V: The Ruby Mines of Upper Burma and the Sapphire Washings of Ceylon, pp. 361 ff., Crooke wrote: "The principal ruby mines of Burma are situated in three valleys, which are known by the names of their chief villages respectively, namely Mogok (or Mogout), Kathé, and Kyatpyen." And in a footnote he added "For a full account of the Ruby Mines District, see Sir J. G. Scott, J. P. Hardiman. *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, Rangoon, 1901, pt. i, vol. ii, 213 ff.; pt. ii, vol. iii, 3 ff.; *Imperial Gazetteer*, xxi, 326 ff."

GLEANINGS FROM SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

(*The Works of Vâchaspati Miśra.*)

BY PROF. DASHARATHA SHARMA, M.A.

ONE does not generally look to the speculative and rather dry books on Sanskrit philosophy for knowledge of the period in which their writers lived. In this short article, however, I shall attempt to show by means of a few extracts and brief comments thereon how even the works of such a subtle philosopher as Vâchaspati Miśra can be utilized to glean a few facts of social and administrative history which, however unimportant by themselves, are cumulatively useful, because of the light which they shed on a very dark period of Indian history.

Revenue Administration.

1. यथा हि ग्रामाध्यक्षः कौटुम्बिकेभ्यः करमादाय विषयाध्यक्षाय प्रयच्छति, विषयाध्यक्षश्च सर्वाध्यक्षाय, स च भूपतये; तथा बाह्येन्द्रियाण्यालोच्य मनसे समर्पयन्ति, मनश्च सङ्कल्प्याहङ्काराय, अहङ्कारश्चाभिमत्य बुद्धौ सर्वाध्यक्षभूतायां।[1]

Translation.—As the village officer collects the rent from the different heads of families, and delivers the collections to the head of the *viṣaya* or the revenue division, who again, in his turn, carries it to the *sarvâdhyakṣa*, who finally makes it over to the king: so, in the same manner, the external organs, having operated on (observed) an object, present the observation to *Manas*, which reflects on it (and imparts thereto its qualifications), presenting these qualified observations in turn to *Ahaṁkâra*, which takes specific cognizance of them, and finally delivers such cognition to the head officer, *Buddhi*.[2]

Comment.—The extract shows that the system of revenue collection prevailing in Mithilâ was *raiyatwâr*. But before reaching the king, the rent had to pass through the hands of the *viṣayâdhyakṣa* and the *sarvâdhyakṣa*. Who this *sarvâdhyakṣa* was, is not quite clear. He might have been either the head revenue officer at the capital, or the governor of a division bigger than the *viṣaya*. The former is perhaps the more likely meaning here.

Army and Weapons.

2. तथेन्द्रियव्यापारा अपि बुद्धेरेव स्वव्यापारेणाध्यवसायेन सहैकव्यापारीभवन्ति, यथा स्वसैन्येन सह ग्रामाध्यक्षादिसैन्यं सर्वाध्यक्षस्य भवति ।[3]

Translation.—The functions of the senses also coalesce with the functional determination of *Buddhi*, as the forces of the village officers, etc., do with that of the *sarvâdhyakṣa*.

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[1] *Sâṁkhya-tattva-kaumudî*, edited by MM. Gaṅgânâtha Jhâ, Bombay, Theosophical Publication Fund, 1896, p. 53, ll. 17-21.

[2] The translation is by MM. Dr. Gaṅgânâtha Jhâ.

[3] *Sâṁkhya-tattva-kaumudî*, edition cited above, p. 54, ll. 16-13.

Comment.—The extract supplies the important information that the Hindu armies of the period were largely composed of forces levied by village officials and provincial governors. Taken in conjunction with the last passage, it tells us further that the village officers and provincial governors were entrusted not merely with revenue, but with military duties also, suggesting that there was no separation of civil and military powers in the Hindu administration of the ninth century.

3. यथाहि बहवः पुरुषाः शाक्तीकयाष्टीकधानुष्ककार्पाणिकाः कृतसङ्केताः परावस्कन्दनाय प्रवृत्ताः ।[4]

Translation.—For instance, a number of persons wielding lances, staves, bows, and swords unite for suppressing a common enemy.

Comment.—It appears from this passage that lances, staves, bows, and swords were the chief weapons of the Indian armies of the period.

Status of Women.

4. (*a*) " व्यवधानाद्, " यथा कुड्यादिव्यवहितं राजदारादि न पश्यति ।[5]

(*b*) सुकुमारतर तातिपेशलता, परपुरुषदर्शनासहिष्णुतेति यावत् । असूर्यपश्या हि कुलवधूरतिमन्दाक्षमन्थरा प्रमादाद् विगलितसिचयाञ्चला चेदालोक्यते परपुरुषेण, तदासौ तथा प्रयतते, यथास्या दर्शनं परपुरुषान्तराणि न पुनः पश्यन्ति ।[6]

Translation.—(*a*) "From intervention"—e.g., one cannot see the queens behind the walls.

(*b*) By modesty here is meant delicacy (of manners), the inability to suffer exposure to the *Puruṣa's* view. As a well-bred lady, invisible (even) to the sun, with her eyes cast down, having her body uncovered by chance, happening to be seen by a stranger, tries to hide herself in such a way as not to be seen again; so Nature—even more modest than such a lady—having once been seen by the *Puruṣa*, will in no case, show herself again.

Comment.—These two extracts point to the strictness of the *parda* system in the ninth century. Specially remarkable in this connection is Vâchaspati Miśra's explanation of the term *sukumârataratâ*. Being wholly different from that of Gauḍapâda,[7] an earlier commentator on the *Sâṁkhya-kârikâ*, it is, we think, illustrative of the social condition of the period.

5. (*a*) तद्यथा एकैव स्त्री रूपयौवनकुलसंपन्ना स्वामिनं सुखाकरोति, तत्कस्य हेतोः? स्वामिनं प्रति तस्याः सुखरूपसमुद्भवात् । सैव स्त्री सपत्नीर्दुःखाकरोति, तत् कस्य हेतोः? ताः प्रति तस्या दुःखरूपसमुद्भवात् ।[8]

(*b*) एवं सपत्नीजनस्य तस्यां द्वेषः स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य दुःखत्वे । एवं मैत्रस्य तस्या भर्तू रागस्तस्यैव स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य सुखत्वे ।[9]

Translation.—(*a*) A single girl, young, beautiful, gentle and virtuous, is a source of delight to her husband, because with regard to him she is born with her essence consisting in pleasure. She pains her co-wives, because, with regard to them, she is born with her essence consisting in pain.

(*b*) For instance, her co-wives are hostile to her, because she, being a woman, is a cause of pain to them. (On the other hand) her husband Maitra has love for her, because that very idea of her being a woman is a source of pleasure to him.

Comment.—Perhaps little comment is needed to show that many Indians of the ninth century were polygamous, and that generally one co-wife was jealous of another.

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4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*, p. 18, ll. 8-9.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 74, l. 21, to p. 75, l. 1.

7 प्रकृतेः सुकुमारतरं सुभोग्यतरं न किञ्चिदीश्वरादिकारणमस्ति । (*Gauḍapada-bhâṣya*, edited and translated by H. H. Wilson, published by Rajaram Tookaram, Bombay, 1924, p. 232, l. 14.)

8 *Sâṁkhya-tattva-kaumudi*, edition cited above, p. 31, l. 23, to p. 32, l. 3.

9 *Tattva-vaiśâradi*, Ânandâśrama edition, Poona, 1919. p. 101, l. 2, of commentary.

6. (*a*) नर्तकी नृत्यपारिषद्भ्यो दर्शयित्वा निवृत्तापि पुनस्तद्दृष्टिकौतूहलात् प्रवर्तते । [10]

(*b*) तथा च नर्तकीभ्रूलताभङ्गे एकस्मिन् बहूनां प्रतिसन्धानं युक्तम् । [11]

Translation.—(*a*) A dancing girl having retired from the stage after her exhibition returns to it again, if so desired by the spectators.

(*b*) In the case of the glances of a dancing girl, the attentiveness of many to that single object is quite a consistent fact.

Comment.—Some women seem to have adopted stage-dancing as a profession.

Caste-System, Religious Animosity, and Education.

7. (*a*) राजजातीयाभिमानकर्तृके राजसूये न विप्रवैश्यजातीयाभिमानिनोरधिकारः । एवं द्विजातिकर्तृक्रिया-करणादिविभागाभिमानकर्तृके कर्मणि न तदनभिमानिनोरधिकारः । न चानधिकृतेन कृतं कर्म फलाय कल्पते, वैश्यस्तोम इव ब्राह्मणराजन्याभ्याम् । [12]

(*b*) न खलु शालग्रामे किरातशतसंकीर्णे प्रतिवसन्नपि ब्राह्मणः किरातो भवति । [13]

Translation.—(*a*) One belonging to the Brâhmaṇa or Vaiśya caste has no right to perform the *râjasûya*, which should be undertaken (only) by people belonging to the royal caste. Similarly an action which should have a Brâhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya, or a Vaiśya as its agent, which should be the doing of one of these, and which should be done through one of them, should in no case be performed by one not belonging to these classes. Like the *vaiśyastoma* sacrifice performed by a Brâhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya, an action performed by one not entitled to perform it, is fruitless.

(*b*) Even by living within a fenced village inhabited by hundreds of Kirâtas, a Brâhmaṇa does not become a Kirâta.

Comment.—These quotations show how rigid and firm the caste-system had grown by the ninth century. One caste was not allowed to perform the social functions of the other, and a Brâhmaṇa ever remained a Brâhmaṇa, if he was so by birth.

8. (*a*) आप्तग्रहणेनायुक्ताः शाक्यभिक्षुनिर्ग्रन्थकसंसारमोचकादीनामागमाभासाः परिहृता भवन्ति । अयुक्तत्वं चैतेषां विगानात्, विच्छिन्नमूलत्वात्। प्रमाणविरुद्धार्थाभिधानाच्च कैश्चिदेव म्लेच्छादिभिः पुरुषापसदैः पशुप्रायैः परिग्रहाद् बोधव्यम् । [14]

(*b*) यस्य...वक्ता...न दृष्टानुमितार्थो यथा चैत्यं वन्देत स्वर्गकाम इति, स आगमः प्लवते । [15]

Translation.—(*a*) By saying true revelation, all pretended revelations such as those of the Bauddhas, the Jainas, and the *saṁsâra-mochakas* (deliverers from the world) have been set aside. The invalidity of these systems is due to their making unreasonable assertions, to want of sufficient basis, to their making statements contradictory to proofs, and lastly to their being accepted by Mlecchas and other brutish, mean people.

(*b*) That testimony fails which is based on the assertion of a speaker who has neither seen nor inferred an object truly. (Of such an assertion the example is) that one desirous of heaven should bow to a Bauddha or a Jaina temple.

Comment.—Passages like the above prove at least the existence of mental intolerance among the men and women of the ninth century. When even such a sober writer as Vâchaspati Miśra could call the Bauddhas and the Jainas mean, beastly and Mleccha-like, the virus of religious animosity must have permeated thoroughly all ranks of Indian society of the period.

9. तत्र व्यक्तं स्वरूपतः पांसुलपादको हालिकोऽपि प्रत्यक्षतः प्रतिपद्यते । [16]

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10 *Sâṁkhya-tattva-kaumudî*, edition cited, p. 74, ll. 14-15.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 28, ll. 1-2.

12 Bhâmati on *Brahmasûtra-Śâṅkara-bhâṣya*, Nirṇayasâgara Press, 1917, p. 59, ll. 3-5.

13 *Tattva-vaiśâradî*, edition cited above, p. 10, ll. 8-9.

14 *Sâṁkhya-tattva-kaumudî*, as above, p. 13, l. 24, to p. 14, l. 3.

15 *Tattva-vaiśâradî*, as above, p. 12, ll. 7-9.

16 *Sâṁkhya-tattva-kaumudî*, as above, p. 17, ll. 1-3.

Translation.—Of these the manifested—earth, etc.—are perceptible in their true form even to the ploughman having his feet covered with dust.

Comment.—The peasant is to the mind of Vâchaspati Miśra the best example of the mentally undeveloped people. This clearly means that education was confined to the upper strata of society and did not reach as low as the poor ignorant peasants.

Conclusion.—The few extracts given above by no means exhaust the information to be supplied by Vâchaspati Miśra. If some scholar well-versed in Sanskrit would undertake the laborious task of going through the great philosopher and commentator's voluminous works, he would probably find his toil amply repaid by the amount of information to be gleaned therefrom relative to the social conditions of the age.

MISCELLANEA.

INDIA AND THE EAST IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

Journal Asiatique, tome CCXX, No. 1, Janvier-Mars, 1932.—In this issue M. Sylvain Lévi contributes a valuable note, illustrated by 4 plates on which eight specimens of the MSS. have been very clearly reproduced from photographs, on two important finds of Sanskrit MSS. at Bamian and near Gilgit. At Bamian, in a cave to the east of the 35 metres high figure of the Buddha, in a portion of the cupola that had fallen in, M. Hackin discovered, besides important remains of paintings and sculpture, a large quantity of MSS. on bark, unfortunately stuck together in a compact mass and very brittle, mostly in Brâhmî script, but including some rare records in Kharoṣṭhî. M. Hackin succeeded in setting up some of the best preserved fragments under glass, and these were, with permission of H. M. King Nâdir Shâh, sent to Paris. M. Lévi tells us that the documents cover the period from the third-fourth century (Kuṣâṇa) to the seventh-eighth century (late Gupta) and besides the types of writing found in India proper, Central Asian types are represented, indicating that the library had contained MSS. from various sources, or else that copyists from different countries had been employed. The chief interest of this find lies in its providing an authentic portion of the *Vinaya* of the Mahâsâṁghikas, as also an authentic fragment of the seven *pâdas* of the *Abhidharma* of the Sarvâstivâdins, hitherto known only from their Chinese translation, the *Saṅgîtiparyâya*.

In the March 1932 issue of this journal (vol. LXI, p. 60) we published information received from Sir Aurel Stein of the very important find of a mass of ancient Sanskrit MSS. in the ruins of a *stûpa* near Naupur village, about 2 miles west of Gilgit cantonment. A member of the Citroen expedition, which happened to be passing Gilgit shortly after Sir Aurel had been there, managed to take some photographs of a few of the leaves, which were submitted to M. Lévi, who had also received a fragment of a leaf obtained by another traveller. Later on, a number of leaves from this find were sent to Europe by Sir A. Stein. The examination of all this material has enabled the learned French scholar to write this paper, in which he confirms Sir Aurel's estimate of the date (around the sixth century A.D.) of the MSS., and further emphasises the extreme value of the find. Eleven birch-bark leaves of large size, beautifully written in sixth-seventh century characters, form portion of a magnificent copy of the *Vinaya* of the Mûlasarvâstivâdins, the value of which can hardly be overestimated, the Sanskrit original of this *Vinaya* (with the exception of the portions preserved in the *Divya*) not being available hitherto. M. Lévi has added a transcription (in Romans) of these leaves, together with a translation in French of portions thereof. "It is useless," he writes, "to insist upon the paramount importance of this document. One shudders to think that the leaves of this *Vinaya*, recovered by a kind of miracle, may have been distributed among the peasants of Gilgit, to be sold by little packets, if no worse fate even should befall them." Six other leaves of smaller dimension, of the same period but in a different handwriting, are of a kind of thick carton paper (which seems to point to an Eastern Turkestan provenance). These belong to a manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* and include, fortunately, the last page of the work with a part of the colophon. The difficulty of deciphering this latter, which appears to contain a list of the benefactors associated with the pious work of making the copy, is increased by the fact that most of the names recorded are not Sanskrit, nor even Indian names. M. Lévi believes they are Turkish, or more precisely, Tou-kiue names, which he regards as "fairly probable since round about the year 600 A.D. Gilgit was incorporated in the vast empire of the Western Tou-kiue."

Archiv Orientální, vol. IV, No. 2, Aug. 1932.—Monsr. J. Przyluski, in one of his intriguing and ingenious essays, suggests a non-Indo-European origin for the name, and a Dravidian origin for

the god, Viṣṇu. Looking at the Sanskrit, Pali and modern Marâṭhî forms under which the name appears, he classifies them thus :—

Viṭha-	Viṭhû	Veṭha
Viṣṇu		Veṣṇu

Taking *na* (or *nu*) as a non-Aryan suffix (as he has elsewhere suggested in the cases of *patana* and *Varuṇa*, he finds the roots *Viṭh, Viṣ*; *Veṭh Veṣ*. The interchange of *ṭh* and *ṣ*, he notes, is exemplified in the Austro-asiatic languages, and the same thing is found in Indian words of non-Âryan origin (cf. *karpaṭa* and *karpasa*; *kirâta, kirâṭa*, and *kirâsa*; Pali *kaṭeruha* and *kaseruka*. The variations in the last consonant are themselves, M. Przyluski adds, an indication of foreign origin, inasmuch as "while words that are fundamentally Âryan evolve in accordance with more or less strict principles, foreign words change in a more capricious manner, and this is just one of the signs that enable us to recognise them." M. Przyluski goes on to seek corroboration of his deductions from a study of the old traditions in connexion with Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa. In the field of mythology he treads on perhaps less firm ground. He refers specially to the story of the ten sons of Devagarbhâ (said to be known as the ten sons of Andhakaveṇhu) in the *Ghatajâtaka*, which he takes to be a Pali version of the Kṛṣṇa legend. Comparison of the versions of the legend leads him to the hypothesis that Viṣṇu, the ancestral god, called in Pali Andhakaveṇhu, is really the father of the gods Vâsudeva, Bala, etc. Arguments are, further, adduced for suggesting that Viṣṇu may be an ethnic term for Dravidian people. The paper is calculated to gratify the residents of Andhradeśa, if it be distasteful to those of Vrajadeśa; but the impartial reader will realise the import of the wider issues involved.

Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, vol. LXXII, Pt. 2, 1932.—Prof. Nilkanta Sastri contributes an interesting paper in this number, entitled "A Tamil Merchant-guild in Sumatra," in which he discusses the fragmentary Tamil inscription found at Loboe Toewa, near Baros, dated Śaka 1010, in the light of certain other S. Indian inscriptions of about the same period. Dr. Hultzsch originally drew attention (in *Mad. Ep. Report*, 1892) to the fact that the Loboe Toewa record referred to a gift by a body of persons styled 'the one thousand five hundred. Prof. Sastri has traced five other inscriptions mentioning a similar corporation of merchants. He regards all these records as pointing to the existence of a well-known merchant guild in southern India, which appears from certain details given in the inscriptions to have been a powerful body, who enjoyed a considerable amount of autonomy, regulated their own affairs, owed no exclusive allegiance to any one king, and entertained mercenary troops to safeguard their goods in the warehouses and in transit. Their trading activities appear to have extended over wide areas, both by land and by sea. Prof. Sastri is inclined to think that a colony of Tamils resided more or less permanently in Sumatra at the time.

Antiquity, vol. VI, No. 23, Sept. 1932.—In a note on pages 356-7, Mr. Ernest Mackay draws attention to the recent discovery of two more links between ancient India and Elam. The first is the finding by Dr. H. Frankfort of a cylinder seal of Indian workmanship (as shown by the elephant, rhinoceros and *ghaṛiyâl* carved upon it) at Tell Asmar, about 50 miles NE. of Baghdâd, which he would assign to about 2500 B.C., as it was found in a house of the time of the Dynasty of Akkad. In the same building were found a number of heart-shaped pieces of inlay and decorated carnelian beads, which, as far as yet known, occur only in the topmost levels of Mohenjo-daro; and the two cylinder-seals found at Mohenjo-daro also come from the highest strata. From this evidence Mr. Mackay inclines to take 2500 B.C. as the approximate date of the upper levels at M.-d. (instead of 2750 B.C., as previously suggested).

The second is a fragment of a steatite vase found at a very low level at Mohenjo-daro, bearing exactly the same intricate and unusual pattern as a double vase of steatite found at Susa in association with objects of the 2nd Period. That the vase of which this fragment formed a part was an importation from Elam is rendered the more certain, Mr. Mackay thinks, by its being of a greenish-grey steatite, of which it is the only piece yet found in the Indus valley excavations. As the date of Susa II is about 2800 B.C., this may be taken as the approximate date of the level of the Elamite find at Mohenjo-daro, thus leaving an interval of about 300 years between the two levels, "a conclusion," writes Mr. Mackay, "to which I am already inclined on other grounds."

C. E. A. W. O.

Illustrated London News.—In reference to the above subject attention may be drawn to the Feb. 13, 1932, issue of this journal, in which Dr. Woolley brings to notice another link between Ur and Mohenjo-daro, viz., a circular seal, with a bull and Indus script, found in a grave shaft of the second Dynasty of Ur, which may be dated about 2800 B.C.

In the same journal interesting light is thrown on the culture of Persia and Arabia by the discovery of a Sasanian palace at Damghan (Mr. A. U. Pope, Mar. 26) and other Sasanian antiquities at Kish (Feb. 20), by the travels of Mr. Philby through the great desert of Arabia (July 2), and by the accounts by Herr Hefritz of the Hadramaut (Apr. 2) and the fish-eating tribes of the south Arabia coast (July 16).

F. J. R.

BOOK-NOTICES

CORNWALLIS IN BENGAL. By A. ASPINALL, M.A., PH.D. 8vo., pp. xv+210. Manchester, University Press, 1931.

This is an admirable piece of work, by a scholar who was formerly Lecturer in History at Rangoon University and now holds a similar post at Reading; and after reading it, our only regret is that it is not longer. In the sub-title its precise scope is defined as 'the administrative and judicial reforms of Lord Cornwallis in Bengal, together with accounts of the commercial expansion of the East India Company, 1786-93, and of the foundation of Penang, 1786-93.' Cornwallis's best-known measure, the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, is thus excluded from consideration; and Dr. Aspinall explains that he has done so deliberately, on the grounds that the subject is too vast to be treated in a short monograph, that it has been dealt with exhaustively already, and that Cornwallis was only indirectly responsible for the plan. However this may be, a chapter on the subject, however short, would have been welcomed by most readers, and the omission to some extent stultifies the title of the volume.

The author has based his narrative upon a careful study of the official records of the period, both in India and in England; and in addition, he has made telling use of extracts from the Melville Papers which were so unfortunately scattered at public auction a few years ago. The result is a full and authoritative account of the steps taken by Cornwallis to reform the administration, and of their practical results. It has too often been assumed that the changes introduced by Warren Hastings had had the effect of establishing, by the time he left Bengal, a thoroughly satisfactory and efficient system of government. This is to overrate his achievement, great as that was; and indeed, considering the vast size of the province and the means at his disposal, such a result would have been little short of a miracle. Moreover, Hastings had been followed by Macpherson, whose timid rule left matters worse than he found them. When Cornwallis arrived, therefore, there was plenty of scope for wide-reaching reforms; and if he sometimes fell into error, his honest and capable endeavours resulted in a very large measure of success. In consequence his name stands high among the British rulers of India, and Dr. Aspinall's discriminating examination of his achievement will still further add to his reputation.

W. F.

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF CASTE IN INDIA, by NRIPENDRA KUMAR DUTT, M.A., PH.D. Vol. I. (c. 2000-300 B.C.) 9×5½ in.; pp. xi+310. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1931.

This is the first of three volumes in which the author proposes to give "a systematic and comprehensive history of caste" from the earliest known times to the end of the nineteenth century. The first chapter contains a very brief notice of some of the views of a few earlier writers regarding the characteristics and origin of the caste system. It concludes with the author's own ideas as to the most important factors in the development of caste. No mention is made of the influence which the panchayats of the functional groups had in producing the extreme rigidity which distinguishes the caste system from all other social groupings. The author draws attention to the distinction between class (*varṇa*) and caste (*jâti*), but asserts that had there been no *varṇa* "system" there would have been no caste system, and describes as the Magna Carta of the latter the well known *Purusha* hymn in the *Ṛig Veda*, which says that the Brâhmaṇ came from the mouth of Purusha, the Râjanya from his arms, the Vaiśya from his thighs and the Śûdra from his feet. He admits, however, that this hymn is "a comparatively later composition." He recognises the absurdity of Manu's theory that all the modern castes are descended from the four *varṇas* by a variety of mixed marriages; but says that a good many castes were formed in this way.

The rest of the volume is a very useful repertory of the various references to class and caste which are to be found in the *Ṛig Veda*, the *Brâhmaṇas* and the *Sûtras*, as well as in Buddhistic and Greek literature. From the material thus provided it seems clear (*a*) that the four *varṇas* of the *Ṛig Veda*, which the author regards as "the mainspring of the caste system," were in fact mere classificatory terms like the upper, middle and lower classes of our own country, and did not contain even the germs of the caste system, and (*b*) that Risley was correct in thinking that the fourfold division of the people was not recognised when the "Aryans" first came to India. In the time of the *Ṛig Veda* the office of *purohita* had not become hereditary and there was no insurmountable barrier between the Brâhmaṇs and the rest of the "Aryan" community. Intermarriage was permissible, and persons of exceptional ability could gain admittance to the Brâhmaṇical fold. There are very few references in the *Ṛig Veda* to the distinctions existing among non-Brâhmaṇs. The term Râjanya indicated men belonging to the ruling families, and there is nothing to show that a separate warrior caste (Kshatriya) had then been formed. The term Vaiśya occurs only in the *Purusha* hymn. Its root, *viś*, which is of frequent occurrence, simply means the common people, and includes besides the cultivators, persons following various occupations. No occupation was regarded as degrading and some were

freely followed by Brâhmaṇs. The internal distinctions amongst the "Aryans" were very slight compared with those between the "Aryans" as a body and the earlier black inhabitants or Dâsas, who are termed Śûdras only in the *Purusha* hymn. These were regarded with contempt, but masters cohabited with their black female slaves, and there is nothing to show that association with the Dâsas caused pollution. Nor had the idea arisen that impurity attached to certain occupations and social practices. All classes ate beef and drank strong drinks. The rules of exogamy, on which such stress is laid in the *Sûtras*, had not come into existence in Ṛig-Vedic times.

During the *Brâhmaṇa* period "Aryan" rule was extended over a large indigenous population, and the process of social segmentation obtained a marked development. The "Aryans" gradually withdrew from all occupations involving manual labour and came to regard industrial work with contempt. The term Śûdra was now applied to the non-Aryan servants and craftsmen, and a fifth *varṇa* emerged to include the unclean castes such as Nishâda and Chaṇḍâla. But there was still no legal bar to the Brâhmaṇs taking wives from other "Aryans," and there was still intercourse between Aryan masters and their female servants, so that in the Gangetic valley "the 'Aryans' absorbed a good deal of non-Aryan blood." Even in the *Sûtra* period many groups of non-Aryans "silently entered the fold of the twice-born." But class distinctions had now become much more rigid; ideas regarding the impurity of certain practices and kinds of food came into vogue and rules were made regarding untouchability.

The Bibliography to Chapter I does not include such well known works as Crooke's *Castes and Tribes of the North West Provinces and Oudh*, Russell's *Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces*, and Jogendranath Bhattacharyya's *Hindu Castes and Sects*. Only two census reports are mentioned.

E. A. G.

The Pallava Genealogy. By The Rev. H. Heras, S.J. Indian Historical Research Institute. Bombay, 1931. Size 11 × 13 inches.

The study of Indian history is entangled in controversies from which there seems no escape. It is not the dates only that are elusive; the early rulers of S. India concealed their identity in such a variety of aliases that it is hard to decide who is who. Some bits of evidence will not fit into the picture at all; others seem to fit equally well in a dozen different places. When, in 1908, the Vayalûr Pillar inscription was discovered, with a list of 54 Pallava kings, it was hoped that, for the Pallava puzzle at least, a key had been found. But 54 reigns, at a modest average of four to a century, would require 1350 years; Vayalûr, in short, presents a new problem, not a solution of old ones.

Father Heras tries a fresh approach. Setting aside for the moment considerations of palæography and chronology, he tabulates side by side the royal names embodied in 45 Pallava inscriptions; from left to right the chart covers over ten feet of space, but folded in concertina form it is surprisingly easy to manipulate, and the lists assume a very definite pattern. Relying mainly on the Vêlûrpâḷaiyam plates, and treating the Prâkrit and Sanskrit grants as of one and the same family, and the Vayalûr inscription as a patchwork of different and overlapping documents, Father Heras groups the aliases into a compact scheme of 24 kings, whose genealogy he depicts in a second chart. In a third chart he correlates the aliases, and he justifies his conclusions in a small brochure of 27 pages. His list starts with Kâḷabhartṛi-Bappa; his 5th king, Skandavarman I, who used both Prâkrit and Sanskrit, was the first to establish Pallava rule in Conjeeveram. The 8th king, Skandavarman II, he suggests, lost Conjeeveram to the Chôḷas as a sequel to the defeat of his son Vishṇugôpa by Samudragupta, and it was not till the reign of the 14th king, Siṁhavishṇu, that Conjeeveram was regained. Father Heras is a bit uneasy as to the synchronism of Vishṇugôpa with Samudragupta, and the period of 200 years which he assigns to the Chôḷa interregnum is rather long, for between Vishṇugôpa and Siṁhavishṇu only one generation intervenes. Nor does he bring the Pallavas into relation with their Ândhra predecessors. Nevertheless his construction is a courageous effort, and the acceptance of his conclusions would solve many tiresome riddles. There is a slight slip on p. 10 of the brochure; the words "former" and "latter" should be transposed.

F. J. Richards.

O Oriente Português (*The Portuguese East*), No. 1, December, 1931. Nova Goa, Imprensa Gonçalves, 1931.

A word of welcome must be offered on the reappearance of this Review, the organ of the Permanent Archæological Commission of Portuguese India. The opening number is devoted to a series of articles on the capitals of Goa. There is first a review of the inscriptions and references in the chronicles to the history of the place before the Portuguese conquest; this is followed by a long description of the religious foundations, and then an account of the various movements of the seat of government in Portuguese times. Numerous photographs add to the interest of a volume which may justly be described as a substantial contribution to local history.

W. H. M.

KASHMIRI RIDDLES.

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, PRESIDENT, ŚRÎNAGAR MUNICIPALITY (*Retired*).

RIDDLES raise a momentary sensation of wonder and afford a light intellectual pastime, the intention underlying them being to tease but, at the same time, to please. They have a psychological value; they not only neutralize cares by diverting the thoughts, but also cause amusement on their being guessed or solved. By the shrewd-thinking they demand, even the dullest boy or girl feels a sense of keenness mingled with delight, and learns the art of being cheerful as well as of giving exercise to the brain—an art which tunes up the brain for the day's work and quickens it to think logically and precisely and, in fact, serves to improve its powers generally.

Children are carried by the current of curiosity born of variety. When other things begin to pall on them, riddles serve as pills to purge melancholy out of their tender, sensitive hearts. Nay more, they arouse wonder fraught with amusement and make them prattle and play in a mood, now grave, now gay. The solution may not dawn all at once, but when it does, a smile of pleasure lights up the solver's features.

Kâshmîrî not being a written language, the riddles current among the people (most of which evince shrewdness coupled with scintillating humour) have been transmitted orally from generation to generation. This literature, therefore, constitutes a relic of ancient folk-lore. Fixed and unalterable enigmatical expressions of the ancients as they are, they appeal most to students of anthropology, philology and research. Moreover, such materials, though seemingly insignificant, are of the utmost value and importance to the historian, as they contribute towards building up the ancient history of the people. They are peculiarly valuable in shedding light upon the hazy and remote past of the Kâshmîrî, who is characterized by conservative proclivities and adherence to things antique, and whose golden age is made up of elements borrowed from the picturesque and hoary past.

Prompted by the considerations stated above, I have collected all the riddles at present current among the Kâshmîrîs, and give them in the following pages. Well might one soliloquize:—Happy the country, whose old, almost lost, literature is revived and rendered imperishable by that supreme art of preservation and circulation, which can defy destruction by Time—printing.

1.

Ablaq guri myâni shahsawâro!
Kadala târtam wârawâro.
Mag chy na ta bu pârayo.
O my piebald horse (and) horseman!
Carry me slowly across the bridge.
Thou hast not got the tresses,[1] and I shall plait them for thee.
Answer:—Wooden sandals.

2.

Aḍ gaz mâmani ḍoḍ gaz pûts.
A head-sheet one and half yards long for an aunt half a yard in stature.
Answer:—Needle and thread.

3.

Âkâshi watshâyi buḍhâ, pâtâla lajës zanga.
Illa bi-l-lâhi! tsänga, pâits gâm jâgîr manga.
An old woman descended from the sky, her feet touched the earth.

[1] Tresses refer to the strings over the toes.

There is none but God ! I will rejoice, I will ask five villages as *jâgîr*.

Answer :—Snow.

4.

Akhâ âkâshiy, byâkhâ nâkâshiy, trâkha gharas râchiy—
Timan tran chu kunuy nâv.

One is in the sky, the second is in the *non*-sky, the third is guarding the door—
These three are of one and the same name.

Answer :—*Gânṭh*, viz., (1) *gânṭh* (kite), (2) *shishar-gânṭh* (icicle), (3) *gânṭh* (bolt).

5.

Akhâ kunḍ, yaḍ bharân ; byâkhâ huk, âs mudrâwân ; trâkha parân Vedata Purân—
Timan tran chu kunuy nâv.

One being a thorn, satisfies one's stomach ; the second being dry, sweetens one's palate ; the third reads the Vedas and Purâṇas—
These three are of one and the same name.

Answer :—*Gor*, viz. (1) *gor* (water-chestnut), (2) *gor* (molasses), and (3) *gor* (priest).

6.

Andar kuṭhey gandharv sabhâ ; timay bihit tâh ba tâh ;

Inside the room is an assembly of *gandharvas* [2] ; they are sitting in regular rows.

Answer :—Teeth.

7.

Asey pondey, zosey, zâmey ;
Nit snân kari tirthan ;
Warih waryas nonuy âsey.
Nishi chuy ; ta parzantan.[3]
It laugheth, sneezeth, cougheth, yawneth ;
It ceaselessly batheth in holy pools ;
It is naked from year's end to year's end.
It is nigh to thee ; recognize it.

Answer :—Face.

8.

Asmâni pakân kakâyâ ;
Zangan malit kirmâyâ ;
Achin walit burqâyâ.
So kosa myâni pîrabhâyâ ?
A bird is flying in the sky ;
Her feet are tinged with red dye ;
Her eyes are covered with a veil.
Which priestess of mine is she ?

Answer :—A swallow.

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[2] The *gandharvas* are a class of demi-gods, who inhabit Indra's heaven and form the orchestra at all the banquets.

[3] This is one of the sayings of Lâl Dĕd, the hermitess (see page 65 of Sir George Grierson's *Lallá-Vákyáni*).

9.

Âyeyas ta gayeyas ;
Ku ku lanji becheyas ;
Mudar âsam ta kut gayas ?
I came and went away ;
I perched on various branches ;
It was sweet to me, and whither did it go ?

Answer :—Sleep.

10.

Bâla pĕṭha minimar ush trâwân.
A doe is shedding tears on a hill.

Answer :—Straining boiled rice in a pot.

11.

Bar dit khar natsân.
An ass is dancing with the door shut.

Answer :—A mill grinding corn.

12.

Baras pĕṭh kâla-shâhmâr
Laṭ ta âs milavit ;
Ora âyas kenkalaṭ,
Laṭ nînas gilavit.
A black snake is on the door
With tail and mouth joined ;
A lizard came up ;
It twisted away its tail.

Answer :—Padlock and key.

13.

Buthi bhasm, sanyâsi chukho :
Athi lûr, pyâda chukho ;
Dhas dhas karawun day chukho ;
Pati kini yeṭ, krâl chukho.
Thou art a mendicant, thy face being covered with ashes ;
Thou art a footman, a stick being in thy hand .
Thou art a god, making a rumbling sound ;
Thou art a potter, with a basket on thy back.

Answer :—Corn grinding-mill.

14.

Chetis ubras krihin kâv.
Timay karân ṭâv ṭâv.
In the white cloud are black crows.
They are calling " Caw ! caw ! "

Answer :—Writing on white paper.

15.

Darakhtî jânawarâ, darakhtas chu na bihân.
Baiza-kashî be-shumâr, phâh chuk na zâh diwân.
A tree bird, [but it] does not sit on the tree ;
It produces innumerable eggs, [but] never hatches them.

Answer :—Fish : likened to a bird because of its fins, which are compared with wings.

16.

Dosi pěṭh kum-yâj ;
Na pilěs câni mâj
Na pilěs myâni mâj.
A cake of chaff is on the wall :
Neither thy mother can reach it
Nor my mother can reach it.
Answer :—The moon.

17.

Ek mashîdey do darwâza.
Âó miyân, trâó puṭâsa.
A mosque with two doors.
Come, Sir, [and] let off a cracker.
Answer :—Blowing the nose.

18.

" *Hâ ṭango, nîli ṭango ! tâj phuṭurtham kalas pěṭh.*
" *Hâ bastî ! sûra bastî ! chus bu jânawâr.*
" *Guran guriy ! rangatsariy ! tâli kiṭur kyâh ?*
" *Tshěn tsěmbar ! nasti tsěmbar ! yeti bîṭhak kyâh ? "*
" O pear, green pear ! thou hast broken the crown of my head.
" O bag-like ! O ash-bag-like [creature] ! I am a bird. [I have done it.]
" O thou greedy of small fish ! O bird of colour ! what is that long needle on thy head ?
" O thou cut-nose ! [with a] tiny nose ! why didst thou sit there ? "
Answer :—The blue heron with a long feather growing on its head, and a frog.

19.

Heri watsh haṭ ta bar-hangan raṭ.
A chip of wood came down-stairs and was caught by the top of the door.
Answer :—A comb.

20.

Heri wuth Paṇḍit tre ḍenṭâni ganḍit.
A *Paṇḍit* came down-stairs with three girdles girt.
Answer :—A load of timber.

21.

Heri wuth Paṇḍit wozali jâma ganḍit.
A *Paṇḍit* came down-stairs wearing red-coloured clothes.
Answer :—Red pepper.

22.

Hilu hilay cilas tsâv
Mukhta-hâr ganḍit drâv.
Yâni bûzuk âv âv,
Tâni lokan zuwâ tsâv.
With effort did it enter the period of forty days,
It came out with a necklace of pearls about it.
No sooner they heard of its coming
Than the people got life.
Answer :—Paddy or corn.

23.

Kachyan, katshan, kohan gayi zîr,
Kâbul, Qandahâr, Dihlî, Kashmîr.
Grass, twigs [and] hills received a shaking
Throughout Kâbul, Qandahâr, Delhi (and) Kashmîr.

Answer :—Earthquake.

24.

Khâm mewah pup kyâ ?
Odur mewah mudur kyâ ?
Which fruit, while raw, is ripe ?
Which fruit, while wet, is sweet ?

Answer :—The cucumber and the mulberry.

25.

Khyun, cyun, trukun, wâri wawun ta gâv kyut khurâk.
Eatable, drinkable, crushable, seed for garden and food for the cow.

Answer :—A water-melon.

26.

Kuchihanâ âsam tathi âsam tsoray khâr wâtân.
I had a little godown, which contained only four *kharwârs.*

Answer :—A walnut with its four segments of kernel.

27.

Lam tal tham sat.
Seven pillars underneath a mound.

Answer :—The udders of a bitch.

28.

Lam tal tham tsor.
Four pillars underneath a mound.

Answer :—The udders of a cow.

29.

Manz maidânas Haidar Hâjî,
Kami jânan begâri lâjî ?
In the middle of the plain is Ḥaidar Ḥâjî,
Which person imposed forced labour upon him ?

Answer :—A husking mill.

30.

Mûmatsi hastini zinda andram.
Live intestines in a dead female elephant.

Answer :—The inmates of a house.

31.

Pântsav Pânḍavav pal tul,
Dituk dârit Lukhari Yâr,
Bitsi mâji dhakka ditus,
Pĕv wâtit Khâdan Yâr.
Five Pânḍavas lifted up a rock [and]
Hurled it to Lukhari Yâr [4] ;

[4] Lukhari Yâr (a corruption of Lauki Śrî Yâr) is the name of a *ghâṭ* on the right bank of the Jhelum, near the sixth bridge at Śrînagar, where a fair is held on the 13th of the bright fortnight of Bhâdon (August-September). Khâdan Yâr is the name of a *ghâṭ* at the north-western end of the Kashmîr Valley, where a fair is held on the same date.

The weak mother gave it a push,
It reached Khâdan Yâr suddenly.

Answer :—A morsel of food raised with five fingers of the hand and swallowed down by means of the tongue into the stomach.

32.

Pĕwân chu mohâ zan,
Samân chu kohâ zan,
Tsalân chu tsûra zan.
It falls like a mosquito,
It accumulates like a hill,
It flees away like a thief.

Answer :—Snow.

33.

Sarâ dyûṭhum boḍ,
Tel phul wâtĕs na oḍ.
I saw a large lake,
[But] half a grain of sesamum cannot fit into it.

Answer :—Nipple or teat.

34.

Saras manz mâmani pyâyi
Wadavi gais, tsup hĕni âyi.
Aunt gave birth to a child in a lake ;
We went to congratulate her, [and] she came to bite.

Answer :—*Jewar al-juwur* (*Euryale ferox*). Its thorns prick the hand on touching it.

35.

Saras manz palyâri hanâ.
There is a small fence round a lake.

Answer :—Eye-lashes.

36.

Saras manz sarâ boḍ,
Sir phul wâtĕs na oḍ.
There is a large lake within a lake,
[But] it cannot contain even one-half of a broken grain of rice.

Answer :—The pupil of the eye.

37.

Satranji watharit, shungân na kânh.
Phulmut pumposh tsaṭân na kânh.
Mûdmut râza, wadân na kânh.
The durries are spread ; nobody sleeps [on them].
The lotus has blossomed ; nobody plucks it.
The king is dead ; nobody weeps.

Answer :—A frozen pool of water ; the moon ; a snake.

38.

Shiyitrah dâri ta shiyitrah bar chis ;
Shiyitrah gaz bhar panâh chus.
Râzas watshayo rats wâsanâ.
Tâjas pĕṭh suna manâ chus.

It has thirty-six windows [and] thirty-six doors
It is thirty-six yards in width.
The king happened to get a good impulse [i.e., to build it].
There is a maund of gold on its spires.
Answer :—The Jâmi' Masjid.

39.

Shupri shupri hĕndavĕnd,
Shrâki sati kapaṭân,
Biyi tithuiy sapadân.
A water-melon, slantingly
Cut into parts with a knife,
Becomes whole again.
Answer :—Clothing.

40.

Suna sanzi dârey rupa sanza lanjey,
'Arifan dup Zârifas yima kami ganjey.
Branches of silver [are tied] to a golden window,
'Ârif asked Zârif as to who had tied them.
Answer :—A cobweb.

41.

Tali tali talâv khanân,
Râza dwâran lûṭ karân.
It digs a pond underneath.
It plunders the houses of great people.
Answer :—A mouse.

42.

Tîlawân nĕcivis suna sund ṭyuk.
An oilman's son with a golden mark on his forehead.
Answer :—An oil-lamp.

43.

Trĕ katshal kacey pût,
Kâṭh bâṭh tsâpân chu,
Pipyul hyû natsân chu.
A lamb with three armpits,
Is eating up timber [and] twigs [and]
Is dancing like a black-pepper.
Answer :—An oven.

44.

Tshar chĕm ta bhar chĕm ;
Râja sandi bâgh chĕm ;
Dushâwla ẉalit chĕm ;
Mukhta-mâla ganḍit chĕm.
It is empty and it is full ;
It is in the Râja's garden ;
It is covered with a pair of shawls
It is wearing necklaces of pearls.
Answer :—An ear of Indian corn.

45.

Tsu zangû, tsodâh zangû,
Uk zangû kulis pěṭh ;
Tasuṇd mâz pâdshâh mangû.
Timan trěn chu kunuy nâv.
[First] having four feet, [second] having 14 feet,
[Third] having one foot on a tree,
Its meat is desired by a king.
These three have one name.

Answer :—*Khar* (ass) ; *khar* (worm) ; *kharbuz* (musk-melon).

46.

Wozalis gûnas chěṭi kacipûti.
White lambs in a red-coloured stable.

Answer :—Teeth in the mouth.

47.

Yâni zâv tâni khut kâniy pěṭh.
As soon as it was born it ascended to the uppermost storey.

Answer :—Smoke.

48.

Yapâri bâl shîn wâlân ;
Apâri bâl ḍoṭh wâlân.
This side of the hill snow is falling ;
That side of the hill hail is falling.

Answer :—A cotton-carding mill.

49.

Yath saras sariphol nâ vĕtsiy,
Tath sari sakaliy poni cěn ;
Mrag, srugâl, ganḍi, zala-hastiy
Zěn nâ zěn ta totuy pěn.[5]
It is a lake so tiny that in it a mustard-seed finds no room,
Yet from that lake every one drinks water ;
And into it deer, jackals, rhinoceroses and sea-elephants
Keep falling, almost before they have time to become born.

Answer :—A mother's nipple.

50.

Yira watshov khaira něcuwâ samudaras tshânṭi,
Danda-mâlan shroni karân, shînas waṭân mâni.
A rude boy came swimming down a sea,
He was jingling his teeth, [and] rolling up avalanches of snow.

Answer :—A churning-stick, separating butter from the milk.

51.

Zeṭhěm zyûthu razâ hyû, prat kâňh tas nishi khotsân chu ;
Pakhar na ty khorav na ty, zorav satin pakân chu.
Long like a rope, every one afraid of it ;
Neither with wings nor with feet, [but] by its own force does it move.

Answer :—A snake.

[5] This is a saying of Lal Děd, the hermitess. (See page 66 of Sir George Grierson's *Lallā-Vākyāni.*)

RÂO CHANDRASEN, A FORGOTTEN HERO OF RÂJPÛTÂNÂ.

BY PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU.

THE name of the heroic Mahârâṇâ Pratâp of Mewâṛ, and the memory of his noble deeds thrill with emotion the heart of every true Indian—young or old—even to this day. But the deeds of Râo Chandrasen, the first hero of Râjasthân, who in defending his independence against the covetousness of the great Mughal emperor Akbar, sacrificed his ancestral throne and took every kind of calamity upon himself, and whose path was followed by Mahârâṇâ Pratâp[1] after an interval of about ten years, are comparatively unknown to history. Further, it has been said that the latter, being much distressed by the miseries of his children, once harboured the idea of acknowledging the supremacy of the emperor, but no such idea ever entered the head of our hero. Owing to the vicissitudes of fortune, however, his name is forgotten even in his own domains.

The Story of Rao Chandrasen.

Râo Chandrasen, the hero of this biographical sketch, was born on the 8th day of the dark half of Śrâvaṇa, 1598 V.S. (16th July 1541 A.D.). He was the fourth[2] son of Râo Mâldev,[3] the well known and powerful ruler of Mârwâṛ, who, by the force of his arms, had acquired supremacy among all the contemporary rulers of Râjpûtânâ, and whose shelter was sought by Humâyûn,[4] the emperor of India, in his days of adversity, and by whose might the pride of Sher Shāh,[5] the Paṭhân emperor of India, was humbled. Towards the close of Mâldev's reign a large part of his dominions had gone out of his possession owing to family discord.

On the demise of Râo Mâldev, Râo Chandrasen, in accordance with the wishes of his father, was installed upon the throne of Mârwâṛ on the first day of the dark half of Mârgaśîrṣa, 1619 V.S. (11th November 1562 A.D.), shortly after which some of his nobles, being displeased with him as a result of an insignificant incident,[6] began to intrigue with his three elder brothers.[7] The latter were persuaded to raise trouble in different quarters. His eldest brother, Râm, rebelled in Sojat, the second, Râyamal, towards Dundara, while the third, Udaisingh, having made a surprise attack, took the two villages Baori and Gangani. At this Râo Chandrasen immediately marched against Udaisingh, who, relinquishing the possession of his newly acquired villages, retreated towards Phalodi. At Lohâwat, however, he was overtaken and wounded by the Râo in a battle which resulted in a victory for the latter. After sometime Râo Chandrasen again prepared to invade Phalodi at the time when the

[1] Mahârâṇâ Pratâp died on the 11th day of the bright half of Mâgha, 1653 V.S. (15th January 1597 A.D.)

[2] When only a child of three, i.e., in 1600 V.S. (1543 A.D.), he was granted the big fief of Siwâna and Bisalpur, where he used to live when of age. A day after his father's death he hastened to Jodhpur to try his luck in taking the reins of government into his hands according to the wish of his father. When a king, he granted the fief of Siwâna to his elder brother, Râo Râyamal (the second son of the deceased Râo).

[3] In the preface to the *Tûzuk-i-Jahângîrî* it is stated; "Râo Mâldev was a very great and powerful Râja, whose army consisted of 80,000 cavalry. Although Râṇâ Saṅga, who had fought with Bâbur, possessed equal wealth and ammunition, yet in respect of dominions and arms, Râo Mâldev surpassed him. Whenever Râo Mâldev fought with Râṇâ Saṅga the former was victorious." (Persian text, published by Nawal Kishor Press, Lucknow, p. 7.)

[4] In the *Ṭabaqât-i-Akbarî* it is stated:—"The Emperor Humâyûn, obliged by circumstances, started towards Mâldev, who was at that time among the big Râjas of Hindûstân and to whom no other Râja was equal in respect of power and army." (Persian text, published by Nawal Kishor Press, Lucknow, p. 205.)

[5] "Thank God, at any cost victory has been attained, otherwise I would have lost the empire of Hindûstân for a handful of millet." (*Târîkh-i-Firishta* text, published by Nawal Kishor Press, Lucknow, Part I, p. 228, and *Muntakhabu 'l-lubâb* text, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society, Part I, p. 101.)

[6] An offender having deserted the court of the Râo, took shelter with one of the nobles named Jaitamal (son of Jaisa). When he was arrested and brought back, the said noble requested the Râo to punish him in any way other than death. Incensed at this uncalled for interference, the Râo ordered the unfortunate wretch to be instantly put to death. Jaitamal and his colleagues did not like this.

[7] At this time the three elder brothers of the Râo were in their respective *jâgîrs*. The eldest, Râm, was at Sojat; the second, Râyamal, at Siwâna; and the third, Udaisingh, at Phalodi.

power of the Mughal emperor Akbar was fast rising. But some considerate nobles intervened and made peace between the two brothers, as they (the nobles) apprehended danger to the Râṭhor power through family dissensions at such a time.

In 1620 V.S. (1563 A.D.) the Râo led an army against his eldest brother Râm. At first Râm came out and opposed the army of the Râo at Nadol.[8] But, seeing no chance of victory, he went to Ḥusain Qulî Beg, the imperial officer at Nâgaur, stated his prior claim by primogeniture to the throne of Mârwâṛ, and asked for help. Ḥusain Qulî, seeing a chance of benefitting himself by this internal discord, readily accepted the proposal and suddenly laid siege to Jodhpur. The Râo fought for some days, but being obliged by the shortage of provisions to make peace,[9] agreed to restore Sojat to Râm and to pay indemnities of war to Ḥusain Qulî Beg. In consequence, the possessions of the Râo were limited to the districts of Jodhpur, Jaitaran and Pokaran only. But after the return of the Muhammadan army the terms of the treaty were not fulfilled to the satisfaction of Râm. He therefore approached the emperor in 1621 V.S. (1564 A.D.) for help. As this was a good chance for Akbar to avenge his father's[10] wrongs, he accepted the request of Râm and sent an army under Muẓaffar Khân. Simultaneously, he ordered Ḥusain Qulî Beg to dispossess the Râo of Jodhpur and settle Râm at Sojat. Ḥusain Qulî, accordingly, laid siege to Jodhpur, but the Râo bravely defended the fort. When the imperial army failed to take the fort by open attack it attempted to enter it by an inlet[11] towards the Rânîsâgar tank, but in vain.

As the siege continued for many months, provisions failed, and the leading sardârs therefore prevailed upon the Râo to escape. He, reluctantly, went to Bhadrajan[12] with his family, while his sardârs, who remained behind, fought in open battle and died glorious deaths. The imperial army then took possession of the fort.

The following is an extract from the *Akbarnâmâ* [13] :—

"After the accession of Chandrasen to the throne the imperial army besieged Jodhpur. Hearing this, Râm, the eldest son of Râo Mâldev, came and joined them. From there he went to the emperor who bestowed honours upon him and sent him to Ḥusain Qulî Beg with a fresh army under Muînu' d-dîn Khân and others. The imperial army soon took the fort."

The Râo collecting men and money began to harass the Muhammadans now and then. In 1627 V.S. (1570 A.D.—978 A.H.), when the emperor, after visiting Ajmer, reached Nâgaur, many princes of Râjpûtânâ attended his court there.[14] The Râo, too, went there to read

8 Another version is that it was Râo Râm who, with the assistance of Mahârâṇâ Udaisingh, had at first marched out in order to obtain the throne of Mârwâṛ.

9 It is stated in *Târikh-i-Palanpur* (Part I, page 77) that Mîrzâ Sharfu'd-dîn rebelled against Akbar and invaded Mertâ after the demise of Râo Mâldev, and that Râo Chandrasen saved Mertâ by concluding a peace with him in 1615 V.S. (1559 A.D.). These facts are doubtful, for Merta had been made over to Jaimal by Sharfu'd-dîn during the lifetime of Râo Mâldev. After this, when Sharfu'd-dîn rebelled, Akbar took Mertâ from Jaimal and made it over to Jagmâl. Sharfu'd-dîn rebelled in 1620 V.S. (1563 A.D.=971 A.H.), while Râo Mâldev died in 1619 V.S.

10 When Humâyûn had sought the assistance of Râo Mâldev against Sher Shâh, his followers had slaughtered a cow in Mârwâṛ. Displeased with this, the Râo (Mâldev) had desisted from helping him, and Humâyûn had to turn back disappointed.

11 This inlet is meant for carrying water to the fort from the tank.

12 This event is stated in the chronicles to have occurred on the 12th day of the dark half of Mârgaśirṣa, 1622 V.S. (19th November 1565 A.D.).

13 *Akbarnâmâ*, text published by Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. II, p. 197.

14 Udaisingh, the third son of Râo Mâldev, and Râo Kalyânmal and his son Râyasingh of Bikaner, etc., had an interview with the emperor at this place. The emperor deputed Udaisingh to suppress the Gûjar rising in Samaoli, keeping at court Râyasingh, to whom afterwards the administration of Jodhpur was also entrusted. Râo Râm was also appointed in Jodhpur to help in guarding the highway to Gujarât.

It is stated in the *Ṭabaqât-i-Akbari* that Akbar reached Nâgaur on the 16th *Jumâdâ 'l-âkhir*, 977 A.H. (3rd day of the dark half of Pausha, 1626 V.S.—corresponding with the 26th November 1569 A.D.) and sojourned there for 50 days (p. 289). But in the *Akbarnâmâ* this event is said to have occurred in 978 A.H. (1570 A.D.). (Vol. II, pp. 357-58.)

his mind, and was received by the emperor with due honour. His inward desire was that if the Râo were to own his allegiance, even in name, he might restore Jodhpur to him. But the unbending nature of the Râo defied all courtly allurements and he returned to Bhadrajan, rejecting the offers of the emperor. Soon after this the imperial army laid siege to Bhadrajan.

The Râo defended it for some time, but as provisions here also failed, he went to Siwâna.

In 1629 V.S. (1572 A.D.) the Râo made a recruiting tour, and on his way, when encamped at Kanuja (district Jaitaran), Ratan, son of Khinva, the chieftain of Asarlai, disregarded a summon to his court. The Râo, therefore, marched on Asarlai and laid it waste.

Next year (1630 V.S.=1573 A.D.) the inhabitants of the town of Bhinaya (district Ajmer) approached him for protection against the depredations of Mâdalia, the Bhîl chieftain. Accepting their appeal, the Râo attacked the residence of the Bhîl. As many other Bhîls of the neighbourhood happened to be there taking part in some ceremony, they all took up arms to repulse the attack; but as soon as Mâdalia was killed they all fled,[15] leaving the place and the district in the possession of the Râo.

The same year (i.e., 1630 V.S.=981 A.H.) Akbar despatched a strong army to take Siwâna.[16] Besides the Muhammadan commanders, Shâh Qulî, etc., Hindu princes and chiefs, like Râyasingh of Bikaner, Keshavadâs of Mertâ and Jagat Râya, were also deputed to accompany it. As the emperor was very anxious that the Râo might be made to own allegiance, he had instructed his commanders to try to win him over by promises of imperial favour. At first the army went towards Sojat, where it defeated prince Kallâ,[17] a nephew of the Râo, and thence set out for Siwâna, taking his (the Râo's) relatives Keshavadâs, Maheshdâs and Prithvirâj along with it. When this large army came near Siwâna,[18] plundering the surrounding country and defeating those who made opposition, the retainers of the Râo suggested that he should take refuge in the neighbouring hills and await his opportunity.

Chandrasen, accordingly, went into the hills, leaving the defence of the fort to his commander-in-chief, Râṭhor Pattâ, but he let slip no opportunity of harassing the besieging army upon its flanks and rear. The garrison, too, gave a good account of itself. Though the besieging army was large and formidable, yet neither the Râo nor his retainers were discomfited. In 1621 V.S. (982 A.H.), disppointed at the state of affairs, Râo Râyasingh, who then administered Mârwâṛ on behalf of the emperor, left Siwâna for Ajmer and informed the emperor that the army deputed to Siwanâ was not adequate to capture the fort, and that reinforcements were necessary.[19] The emperor thereupon sent Ṭaiyîb Khân, Saiyid Beg Toqbâî, Subḥân Qulî Khân Turk, Kharram, Aẓmat Khân, Shivadâs, etc., with a large army to

15 From that day the following proverb has been current in Mârwâṛ :—मादलियो मारियो नै गोठ बीखरी, i.e., 'as soon as Mâdalia (the Bhîl chief) was killed the guests to the feast dispersed.'

Bhinaya is in the possession of the descendants of Râo Chandrasen to this day.

It is stated in the *Chiefs and Leading Families of Râjpûtânâ* (1916) that Chandrasen, the son of Râo Mâldev of Mârwâṛ (1531) came to Ajmer, and having by stratagem intoxicated Mâdalia, the chief of a band of Bhîls who ravaged the country near Bhinai, slew him and dispersed his followers. For this service Bhinai and seven other parganas were bestowed on him in *jâgîr* by the emperor Akbar. (See pp. 96-98.)

16 *Akbarnâmâ*, vol. III, pp. 80-81.

17 Prince Kallâ at first bravely opposed the imperial army, but being outnumbered, was eventually obliged to leave Sojat and take refuge in the fortress of Siriari. The imperial army, finding it difficult to take this latter place, set fire to it, which obliged Kallâ to retreat to Korna. Being pursued to this place, too, he had to conclude peace, and though exempted himself, upon some pretext, from attendance, he had to send his relatives to the court.

18 The allies of Râo Chandrasen, Râval Megharâj, Sukharâj, Suja and Devidâs, had bravely fought with batches of the imperial army that had been plundering in the neighbourhood. (*Akbarnâmâ*, vol. III, p. 81.)

19 *Akbarnâmâ*, vol. III, pp. 110-111.

Siwâna. The strength of the imperial army being thus augmented, the Râo, at the request of his sardârs, escaped via Rampura to the hills. The emperor resented the escape of the Râo, and reproached his commanders.

Next, in 1632 V.S. (983 A.H.) Jalâl Khân was deputed[20] to suppress the Râo, and Saiyid Aḥmad, Saiyid Hâshim, Shimâl Khân and other nobles were ordered to accompany him. As the army previously sent suffered continued failure it became disheartened; and as they had insufficient fodder and had to wander fruitlessly in the hilly tracts, the horses, too, became weak and unserviceable.[21] The emperor accordingly instructed these newly appointed commanders to relieve it; and they went to their respective *jâgîrs* to make preparations.

When Jalâl Khân reached Mertâ, Râmsingh, Sultânsingh,[22] 'Âlî Qulî, etc., nobles of the Siwâna army, sent him word that, though they were trying their best to suppress the Râo, yet they had not been able to defeat him, for being himself a brave warrior, surrounded by retainers equally brave, and finding an impregnable shelter in the mountains, he was invincible. But if Jalâl Khân would instantly help them with his army they would achieve some success. Jalâl Khân accordingly marched on Siwâna. Hearing this, the Râo arranged an ambush to surprise and rout Jalâl Khân on the way; but somehow the latter got scent of the design and advanced and attacked the Râo. This unexpected attack upset all his (the Râo's) plans. For some time further he continued the conflict, till, anticipating the complete destruction of his handful of brave soldiers in fighting against such odds, he again took refuge in the hills.[23]

As the imperial army had had a bitter experience in entering the hills in pursuit of such a dangerous enemy as the Râo, this time they retired to the fortress of Râmgaḍh, and from there they tried their best to find out his whereabouts; but all their efforts proved fruitless. In the meanwhile they learnt through a person who called himself Devîdâs[24] that the Râo was with his nephew, prince Kallâ. On this they went with him to Kallâ, who positively denied the information. The army had to return in despair, and Shimâl Khân was much displeased with Devîdâs. Inviting the latter to his camp under some pretext he tried to make him prisoner, but at the right moment Devîdâs effected his escape, to the disappointment and shame of Shimâl Khân. Devîdâs went to Kallâ, and, as he was determined to avenge himself on Shimâl Khân, he together with Râo Chandrasen fell upon the imperial army. In their hurry they mistook Jalâl Khân for Shimâl Khân. However the former was killed. They then proceeded to attack the latter (Shimâl Khân), but by that time Jaimal, at the head of a fresh imperial army, happened to arrive, and the Râo and Devîdâs thought it prudent to retire.

This last attack had much reduced the strength of the imperial army, affording an opportunity to prince Kallâ (son of Râmâ) of once more trying his luck. He collected men and money, garrisoned the fortress of Devkûr,[25] and prepared for battle with the imperial army. To overcome the new difficulty, the imperial army was obliged to give up the siege of Siwâna and prepare for an attack upon Devkûr. The emperor, seeing his prestige

20 *Akbarnâmâ* text, published by Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. III, p. 158.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 167.

22 These were younger brothers of Râo Râyasingh of Bikaner.

23 *Akbarnâmâ*, vol. III, pp. 158-159.

24 The strange story related by this man at Râmgaḍh was that he was the same Devîdâs who was supposed to have been killed in the battle with Sharfu'd-dîn at Mertâ; that when he was left on the field in a senseless state, an ascetic picked him up, took him to his hermitage and healed his wounds; that he remained with the ascetic for some time and had come with his permission to try his fortune by serving under the imperial banners. He was believed by some of the imperial commanders, while others disbelieved him. (*Akbarnâmâ*, vol. III, p. 159.)

25 The site of this fortress remains yet unidentified. (*Akbarnâmâ*, vol. III, p. 167.)

endangered, sent more men under Shâhbâz Khân to stamp out the anarchy in these parts. This new general, on reaching Devkûr, saw that the imperial army besieging the fortress was in difficulties. He, therefore, advanced and attacked the fort. This reinforcement greatly added to the strength of the imperial army and the handful of fatigued retainers of prince Kallâ could not withstand its attacks for long. The fortress was captured and Shâhbâz Khân left some troops in it under the Saiyids of Bârha, while he himself proceeded to Siwâna. On his way he fell in with some Râṭhor warriors stationed in the fortress of Dûnâra,[26] to whom he sent proposals for submission with an offer of imperial service. But these brave Râṭhors, preferring death to loss of independence, engaged the great Mughal army in a furious battle till every one of them had fallen on the field. The Mughals took possession of the fortress and went on to besiege Siwâna. There they relieved and sent back the old army, in accordance with the emperor's instructions. The new general, after some days of strenuous effort, perceived that it would be very difficult to take the fort by fighting in the open with the brave Râṭhors. He, therefore, had recourse to stratagem, and cut off all supplies for the garrison. Seeing further defence impossible, the commander proposed to evacuate the fort on condition of being allowed to retire peacefully. Shâhbâz Khân welcomed the proposal as he foresaw only loss in pressing the siege further. Thus, after prolonged and severe fighting, the fort of Siwâna came into the possession of Akbar in 1633 V.S. (984 A.H.) and the surviving Râṭhor defenders retired to the hills of Piplun, where the Râo resided. But still they continued to attack the Mughal army whenever possible.

The same year, in the month of Kârtika (October-November 1576 A.D.), Râval Haṅsrâj of Jaisalmer seeing the Râo engaged with the imperial army, invaded Pokaran, which was defended by Pañcholi Ânand Râm, who commanded in behalf of the Râo, for about four months. In the end, no advantage being gained by either side, a treaty was concluded by which the Râval was to advance a loan of one lakh of *phadias* (Rs. 12,300) to the Râo, and the Râo was to hand over the district of Pokaran to the Râval on condition of returning it on the repayment of the loan. Râo Chandrasen, being engaged in war with the Mughals, was in need of money and, therefore, welcomed the treaty.

As the imperial army pursued the Râo even to his mountain fastness of Piplun, he, after fighting for a time, was obliged to retire towards Sirohi,[27] Dûngarpur[28] and Bânswârâ.

Later on, when Sojat also fell into the hands of the Mughals on the death of Kallâ on the field of battle, Kumpâvat Sâdûl, son of Maheshdâs, Jetavat Âskaran, son of Devîdâs, and other sardârs of Mârwâṛ went over to the Râo and requested him to return and protect his native land. Accordingly he set out for Mârwâṛ via Mewâṛ and, routing the imperial post at Sarwâr, took possession of the district in 1636 V.S. (1579 A.D.). Later he overran the adjacent districts of Ajmer also.[29] At this the emperor sent an army against him under Pâyanda Muḥammad Khân and others. The Râo, after fighting for some time against these

26 At present there is no fortress at Dûnâra.

27 Râo Chandrasen is said to have stayed here for about a year and a half.

28 It is said that though Râo Chandrasen, owing to the dissension between the Râval and his son, had acquired possession of Dûngarpur fort, he was obliged to vacate it on the arrival of the imperial army.

29 In 988 A.H. (1637 V.S.=1580 A.D.) it was reported that Râo Chandrasen (son of Mâldeva), in spite of his (formerly) attending the imperial court, had rebelled; but being afraid of the imperial army he had awaited an opportunity in his hiding place, and now, finding a chance, had begun to plunder the district of Ajmer. (*Akbarnâmâ*, III, p. 318.)

But Râo Chandrasen had only once met Akbar at Nâgaur in 1627 V.S. (1570 A.D.). A subsequent interview with Akbar is neither mentioned in any of the Persian Chronicles, nor in the *khyâts*. This statement, therefore, must allude to his meeting with the emperor in 1627 V.S.

odds, thought it inadvisable to remain in the open field and retired to the nearest hills in 1637 V.S. (1580 A.D.=988 A.H.).

Shortly after this the Râo again collected men and money, invaded Sojat and took possession of it on the 11th day of the dark half of Śrâvaṇa 1637 V.S. (7th July 1580 A.D.). He then established his residence in the hill fortress of Saran close by, but he did not enjoy the rest for long as he died on the 7th day of the bright half of Mâgha 1637 V.S. (11th January 1581 A.D.) at Sachiyaya. Thus ended the chequered but brilliant career of this unyielding hero of Mârwâṛ.[30] On the spot where he was cremated there stands a marble tablet to this day.[31]

Râo Chandrasen was a ruler of very inflexible and independent disposition. He took upon himself the hardships of a wandering life in the mountains after being deprived of his paternal state (Mârwâṛ). He continued to fight for 16 long years with the armies of an emperor like Akbar, and never thought of ending his miseries by yielding to the supremacy of the great Mughal. Even from the *Akbarnâmâ* it is evident that it was the ardent desire of the emperor to bring the Râo under his allegiance like other rulers of Râjpûtânâ ; he, therefore, used to give special instructions to all the nobles sent against him to try their best to subjugate the Râo by offering imperial favours. But this desire of the emperor was never fulfilled. Râo Chandrasen had three sons,—Ugrasen, Râyasingh, and Âskaran.[32]

At that time the Mahârâṇâ (Pratâp) and the Râo (Chandrasen) were the two sharpest thorns in Akbar's side. A contemporary poet has very well expressed this fact in the following couplet :—

अणदगिया तुरी ऊजला असमर, चाकर रहण न डिगियौचींत ।

सारै हिंदुस्थान तणै सिर, पातल नै चंद्रसेण प्रवीत ॥

i.e., at that time there were only two renowned rulers throughout India, viz., Râṇâ Pratâp and Râo Chandrasen, whose horses could not be enslaved by the imperial brand, who could never be tempted by imperial service, and whose arms ever remained drawn against the imperial armies.

Probable Reasons for the Obscurity of Râo Chandrasen.

The chief reason why the name and history of such a character have been forgotten seems to be that, unlike the case of Mahârâṇâ Pratâp of Mewâṛ, the throne of Mâṛwâṛ was lost to the descendants of our hero—Râo Chandrasen. Some time after his death, his younger brother Udaisingh (*alias* Môṭâ Râjâ) got possession of the throne in 1640 V.S. (1583 A.D.) The new ruler had not been on good terms with his brother. The poets and historians of the time probably thought, therefore, that the recital and narration of Chandrasen's heroic deeds would not only be fruitless, but even a cause of displeasure to the contemporary ruler.

We hope true Indians, and especially the Râṭhor Râjpûts, will cherish in their hearts the memory of the magnanimous Râo like that of Mahârâṇâ Pratâp.

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[30] It is stated in the chronicles of Mârwâṛ that when Râo Chandrasen had taken possession of Sojat a large number of Râṭhor sardârs from far and near had flocked to his banner. But Râṭhor Bairsâl and Kumpavat Udaisingh, out of pride, paid no heed to him. Râo Chandrasen, therefore, marched upon Dudor, the *jâgîr* of Bairsâl. On the way, as Âskaran, son of Râṭhor Devîdâs, promised to negotiate with Bairsâl and induce him to enter the service of the Râo, the latter gave up the idea of invasion. When, however, Âskaran saw Bairsâl for the purpose, the latter, feigning terror, requested Âskaran to assure him of the favour of the Râo by bringing him (the Râo) to his house for dinner. This was arranged. But soon after his return the Râo suddenly expired ; hence treachery on the part of Bairsâl is generally suspected.

[31] In this tablet there is an image of Râo Chandrasen on horseback along with five ladies standing in front of him, to show that five of his wives became *sati*. This fact is also borne out by the inscription below the image, which runs as follows : श्रीगणेशायनमः ।संवत् १६३७ शाके १५ [०] २ माघमासे सु (शु) क्लपक्षे सतिम (सप्तमी) दिने राय श्रीचंद्रसेणजी देवीकुला सती पंच हुई.

[32] Râo Chandrasen made a charitable grant of village Arathnadi to a Brâhmaṇ named Sāṅgā.

HISTORICAL DATA IN RÂJAŚEKHARA'S VIDDHAŚÂLABHAÑJIKÂ.

BY V. V. MIRASHI, M.A.

IN an interesting article entitled "The staging of the Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ" published in a previous issue of this Journal (vol. LX, p. 61 f.), Mr. Dasharatha Sharma has drawn attention to the historical data in the *Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ* of Râjaśekhara. The historical importance of this drama had also struck me as I was studying the inscriptions of the Kalachuris and the works of Râjaśekhara, and I wrote an article on the subject which was published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*[1] some months before Mr. Sharma's article appeared in this Journal. Mr. Sharma has independently studied this question, and though he agrees with me in some matters, his conclusions in others are different from mine. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the available evidence once more to arrive at the truth. Besides Mr. Sharma's article contains some misstatements which must be corrected to prevent misconception by future historians.

After studying the *Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ* and the relevant inscriptions Mr. Sharma has drawn the following conclusions.

1. The *Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ* was staged at the Court of the Kalachuri king Yuvarâjadeva I of Tripurî.
2. It commemorates a victory of the Kalachuris over the Râshṭrakûṭa king Govinda IV. This war was undertaken to crown Baddiga-Amoghavarsha III king of Kuntala.

The first of these conclusions is no new discovery. As far back as 1905 the late Dr. Hultzsch arrived at the same conclusion and on the same grounds.[2] As for the second my conclusion is in some respects different from Mr. Sharma's. I agree with him that the play commemorates a victory of the Kalachuris over the Râshṭrakûṭas, but I hold that Yuvarâjadeva's antagonist was not Govinda IV, but his own son-in-law, Baddiga-Amoghavarsha III, who had already usurped the throne on the death or murder of Govinda IV. Mr. Sharma says: "Govinda IV seems to have been a man of vicious character, who met his destruction in a rebellion raised by his subjects." It is not quite clear how Govinda IV met his death. The Deoli and Karhad Plates attribute his destruction to his voluptuousness, which undermined his health.[3] But the veiled reference in that verse to the disaffection among his subjects, as well as the statement in the next passage that his successor Amoghavarsha was requested by the feudatories[4] to ascend the throne, may denote that he lost his life in a rebellion of his subjects and feudatories. The latter supposition is also supported by an important passage in the *Vikramârjunavijaya* of the Kanarese poet Pampa, where it is said that Arikesarin, a Châlukya chieftain ruling over Jola country (Dhârwâr district), conquered the great feudatories sent by the emperor who offered opposition and gave universal sovereignty to Baddiga when he came, placing confidence in him.[5] It is, however, doubtful if the Chedis had any hand in this revolt. The battle on the bank of the Payoshṇî, which is so graphically described in the *Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ*, could not have been fought with Govinda IV, for in that passage the adversaries of the Chedis, who supported the claim of Vîrapâla for the throne of Kuntala, are said to be kings of Karṇâta, Siṁhala, Pâṇḍya, Murala, Ândhra, and Konkaṇa, as well as the lord of Kuntala. Now it is well known that Govinda IV had, by his vicious conduct, displeased all men and had sent armies against Arikesarin (who may represent the

1 *Annals*, vol. XI, Part IV (1930).

2 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXXIV, p. 177 f.

3 सोऽप्यङ्गनानयनपाशनिरुद्धबुद्धिरुन्मार्गसंगविमुखीकृतसर्वसत्त्वः । दोषप्रकोपविषमप्रकृतिः श्लथाङ्गः प्रापत्क्षयं सहजतेजसि जातजाड्ये ॥

4 सामन्तैरथ रट्टराज्यमहिमालम्बार्थमभ्यर्थितो, देवेनापि पिनाकिना हरिकुलोल्लासैषिणा प्रेरितः । अध्यास्त प्रथमो विवेकिषु जगत्तुङ्गात्मजोऽमोघवाक्, पीयूषाब्धिरमोघवर्षनृपतिः श्रीवीरसिंहासनम् ॥

5 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VII, p. 34.

king of Karṇâṭa) and Châlukya Bhima II of Veṅgî (the king of Andhra).[6] These kings at least were displeased with Govinda IV, and we shall not be far wrong if we suppose that other feudatories also did not like his misrule. In the Deoli and Karhad plates of Kṛishna III, the son and successor of Baddiga-Amoghavarsha, we are told that the latter was requested by the feudatories to ascend the throne. These feudatories are not, therefore, likely to have fought for Govinda IV and against the Kalachuri king, who, according to Mr. Sharma, espoused the cause of Baddiga. It is, on the other hand, probable that Baddiga-Amoghavarsha was intriguing with the discontented feudatories of Govinda IV to bring about his downfall. We have a clear reference to this in the passage from the *Vikramârjunavijaya* cited above, which says that Arikesarin gave the throne to Baddiga who sought his help. Yuvarâjadeva I was no feudatory of Govinda IV. If he had been mainly instrumental in securing the throne of Kuntala for Baddiga, the Deoli and Karhad plates of his son would have surely referred to his help. We find instead, that Kṛishna III, the son of Baddiga, even while he was a crown prince, defeated a *Sahasrârjuna* (i.e., a Kalachuri king) who was an elderly relative of his mother and wife.[7] This can be no other than Yuvarâjadeva I of Tripurî, the father-in-law of Baddiga. The earliest date for Baddiga is 937 A.D., and the date of Kṛishna III's accession is 940 A.D. Kṛishna's victory over Yuvarâjadeva must, therefore, be placed between these two dates. As it is mentioned first in the list of the achievements of Kṛishna III while he was a crown prince,[8] it may have occurred in the first two or three years of his father's reign. It would, indeed, be the height of ingratitude, if Kṛishna waged war so soon on Yuvarâjadeva, who, according to Mr. Sharma, placed his father on the throne of Kuntala.

I, therefore, conclude that Yuvarâjadeva must have espoused the cause of some other claimant for the throne of Kuntala and fought with Baddiga-Amoghavarsha and his son Kṛishna, who had usurped it with the help of the feudatories. In my article in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* I have shown in detail that the kings of Karṇâṭa, Siṁhala, Paṇḍya, etc., mentioned in Rajaśekhara's play as the adversaries of Yuvarâjadeva, were afterwards the feudatories of Kṛishna III, and may, therefore, have come to his father's help in that battle. Baddiga was, no doubt, Yuvarâjadeva's son-in-law,[9] but he was a man of saintly disposition, being guided entirely by his son Kṛishna III. From the manner in which Kṛishna III and his successor Khoṭṭigadeva are referred to in the Kardâ plates,[10] the late Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar rightly conjectured that they were half-brothers and that Kandakadevî, the daughter of Yuvarâjadeva, was the mother of Khoṭṭigadeva but the step-mother of Kṛishna III. We are told in the *Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ* that Yuvarâjadeva married the daughter of Vîrapâla, whom he placed on the throne of Kuntala. This is manifestly impossible if Vîrapâla of the play is intended to represent his own son-in-law Baddiga-Amoghavarsha. All these considerations render it extremely probable that Vîrapâla was meant to represent some other uncle of Govinda IV who had an equal claim for the throne after the latter's death. Yuvarâjadeva must have decided to back him, for he must have known that if his son-in-law Baddiga gained the throne he would be entirely under the control of his son, Kṛishna III, of masterful personality, and thus thwart him in his ambitious schemes to become a Chakravartin.

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6 Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 417.

7 रामइतसहस्रभुजो भुजद्वयाकलितसमररामेण । जननीपत्नीगुरुरपि येन सहस्रार्जुनो विजितः ॥
Karhad Plates, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 284.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 285.

9 Matrimonial alliances are not always successful in preventing hostilities between ambitious kings. Several instances of this can be quoted from modern European as well as ancient Indian history.

10 ऐन्द्रपदाजिगीषयेव स्वर्गमधिरूढे च ज्येष्ठे भ्रातरि श्रीमत्कृष्णराजदेवे, युवराजदेवदुहितरि कन्दकदेव्याममोघवर्षनृपात् । जात खोट्टिगदेवो नृपतिरभूद्भुवनविख्यातः ॥ १६ ॥
Early History of the Deccan (1928), p. 127.

Mr. Sharma places this battle on the bank of the Tâptî, with which he identifies the Payoshṇî mentioned in the play as the scene of the battle. It appears from the Epics and Purâṇas that three rivers—Tâptî, Purnâ and Paingaṅgâ—bore the name Payoshṇî in ancient times.[11] The *Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ* tells us that Yuvarâjadeva sent an army under his Commander-in-Chief to place Vîrapâla on the throne of Kuntala. It must have advanced directly on Mânyakheṭa (modern Mâlkhed, near Bîdar in the Nizâm's Dominions), the capital of the Râshṭrakûṭas. Its progress was checked by a confederacy of kings, and a fierce battle was fought on the bank of the Payoshṇî. This river must, therefore, be identified with the Paingaṅgâ which, alone of the three rivers mentioned above, lies on the way from Tripurî (Têwar near Jabalpur) to Mâlkhed. The surrounding country was probably called Muralâ in those days. The king of this country was one of the adversaries of Yuvarâjadeva. From the *Uttararâmacarita* the Muralâ appears to be a tributary of the Godâvarî, and we find that the Yâdavas who were ruling in that part were feudatories of the Râshṭrakûṭas. To assure Yuvarâjadeva that the people of that country had submitted to him after that fierce battle the Commander-in-Chief remarks in his dispatch that the ladies of Muralâ had fixed their eyes on his feet. The identification of the Payoshṇî[12] with the Paingaṅgâ seems, therefore, to be almost certain.

The victory that Yuvarâjadeva won in the battle of the Payoshṇî was, however, only temporary. Baddiga soon regained the throne and was firmly established on it in 937 A.D. His son and crown prince, Kṛishna III, soon took revenge by defeating Yuvarâjadeva, as stated in the Karhad plates.

Let us next turn to some other statements in Mr. Sharma's article. He identifies in a footnote Yuvarâjadeva the patron of Abhinanda with Yuvarâjadeva I of Tripurî. Extracts from the initial and concluding portions of the *Râmacarita* were published in 1922 and 1928 in the *Triennial Catalogues of Manuscripts collected by the Madras Government.*[13] The work has recently been edited in the Gaikwâḍ's Oriental Series. From several references in that poem it is now quite clear that Yuvarâjadeva, the poet's patron, was a Pâla king and bore the title *Hâravarsha.* He must, therefore, be distinguished from Râjaśekhara's patron, the Kalachuri king Yuvarâjadeva I alias *Keyûravarsha.* The editor of the *Râmacarita* has adduced cogent reasons to identify him with Devapâla, who ruled in the second half of the ninth century A.D.

Relying on Mr. C. V. Vaidya's statement in his *History of Mediæval Hindu India*, Mr. Sharma holds that Kokkalla I was the master of Trikaliṅga in 870 A.D. Mr. Vaidya has cited no authority for his statement. From the eleventh century onwards we find that the title was assumed by some Kalachuri kings. But so far as I know, the passages in the *Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ* cited by Mr. Sharma are the earliest references to the assumption of this title by a Kalachuri king. If Trikaliṅga means high or elevated Kaliṅga and denotes the highlands between the coast strip called Kaliṅga and Dakshiṇa Kosala,[14] the country was conquered for the first time by Kokkalla's son, Mugdhatunga-Prasiddhadhavala, the father of Yuvarâjadeva I.[15] After this conquest he placed one of his brothers in charge of it. The inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur mention that Kokkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripurî while the others became the lords of Maṇḍalas.[16]

11 See Nundo Lal Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India*, p. 156.

12 Relying on Mr. S. N. Majumdar's statement in his edition of Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, Mr. Sharma takes the Muralâ country to represent the central possession of the Kalachuris. But this is inconsistent with the express statement in the play that the lord of Muralâ was one of Yuvarâjadeva's opponents in the battle of the Payoshṇî. The *Trikândaśesha* seems to distinguish the Muralâ from the Revâ or Narmadâ, cf. रेवा तु पूर्वगंगा स्यान्मुरला तु मरुन्दला । In the *Bâlabhârata* also Râjaśekhara distinguishes between Muralâ and Mekala the country round the source of the Narmadâ, cf. नमितमुरलमौलिः पाकलो मेकलानाम् । (Act I, v. 7).

13 Vol. III, Nos. 3439 and 3760 (pub. 1922) and vol. IV, Nos. 5371 and 5373 (pub. 1928).

14 *JBORS.*, vol. XIV, Part IV.

15 See references to the conquest of Pâli in the Bilhari inscription of the Rulers of Chedi (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 254 f.) and the Benares copperplate inscription of Karṇa (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 297 f.)

16 Cf. Ratanpur Inscription of Jâjalladeva, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 32 f.

MISCELLANEA.

A SINHALESE-PAṆḌYAN SYNCHRONISM.

In the time of Sena I, according to the *Cûlavaṃśa* (*Mhv.* 50, 12-42), a Pâṇḍyan king invaded Ceylon, ravaged the Northern Province, and sacked the capital. Sena made terms, and the Pâṇḍyans quitted the island.

In the next reign, that of Sena II (*Mhv.* 51, 27-51), a disgruntled son of the Pâṇḍyan king appealed to the Sinhalese monarch for help against his father. A Sinhalese invasion of the Madurâ kingdom followed, the capital was sacked, the Pâṇḍyan king died of his wounds and his son was enthroned by the Sinhalese Commander-in-Chief in his stead.

On the Pâṇḍyan side the only reference to a war with Ceylon is the bare mention in the larger Śinnamanûr plates of a victory won over the king of Siṃhala by Śrî-Mâra, son of Varaguṇa I, and father of Varaguṇa II (S. I. I., 3, pp. 457, 461). Of a counter-invasion nothing is said.

The year of Varaguṇa II's accession is generally accepted as *c.* 862 A.D. (Aivarmalai inscription, Md. 242 of V. Rangacharya's list, corroborated by the Tiruveḷḷarai inscription, Tp. 683, see *E.I.*, 11, 253).

This date does not fit either the traditional dating of the *Mhv.* (Wijesinha) which gives Sena I, 846-866 A.D. and Sena II, 866-901 A.D.; nor with the scheme suggested by Hultzsch in *JRAS.*, 1913, 517-531, which would give Sena I, *c.* 823-843 A.D., and Sena II, 843-876 A.D. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, relying on Wijesinha's dating infers that this sack of Madurâ marks the end of Varaguṇa II's reign (*Ancient Deccan*, p. 141), while Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri would discredit the Sinhalese account altogether, regarding it as a mere repetition of the Sinhalese invasions of Madurâ in the twelfth century, interpolated in *Mhv.* 51 "to take off the edge from the story of the conquest of Ceylon" in Sena I's reign (*The Pâṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 71).

More recently Prof. Geiger, in part II of his edition of the *Cûlavaṃśa* (1930), has again revised the dating of the Sinhalese kings of this period, and assigns to Sena I, *c.* 831-851 A.D., and to Sena II, *c.* 851-885 A.D. The expedition of Sena II to Madurâ occurred according to the Āṭaviragollâva inscription (*E. Z.*, 2, p. 44) in the ninth year of his reign, which would be *c.* 860 A.D. according to Prof. Geiger's scheme. The nearness of this computed date to that of Varaguṇa II's accession (862 A.D., some time between March 22nd and November 22nd, as calculated by Sewell) suggests that Varaguṇa II wrested the Pâṇḍyan throne from his father Śrî-Mâra with the help of Sena II. This synchronism, if valid, is important, and proves the soundness of Prof. Geiger's judgment.

F. J. RICHARDS.

BOOK-NOTICES.

A COMPARATIVE AND ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF THE NEPALI LANGUAGE, by R. L. TURNER, M.C., M.A. With Indexes of all Words quoted from other Indo-Aryan Languages compiled by Dorothy R. Turner, M.A. 12¼×9½ inches; pp. xxiv+935. London, Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner & Co., 1931.

This admirable dictionary is the outcome of 16 years' work; and the labour involved in its preparation will be apparent from its contents to all linguists. Suffice it to state that dictionaries and vocabularies of fifty languages and dialects, including, be it noted, the Gypsy languages, have been systematically examined for the purpose of the etymological notes and the indexes. In the preface the author states his aim as having been to give all those interested in the Aryan languages of India generally, and in Nepâlî in particular, a dictionary in which for the first time the attempt is made to indicate with some degree of scientific accuracy the etymologies of an Indo-Aryan language as a whole. The indexes have been planned to enable those concerned with Indo-Aryan languages other than Nepâlî to use the etymological material here collected. Right well have these aims been accomplished: the result is a work that should serve as a guide for future Indian lexicography.

In his *Linguistic Survey of India* Sir George Grierson classifies this language, which he calls Eastern Pahâṛî or Naipâlî (here using the Sanskritic form, while Prof. Turner adopts the form Nepâlî as locally pronounced) as one of the Pahâṛî languages of the Inner Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan Branch. Prof. Turner tells us that Nepâlî originally belonged to a dialect-group which included the ancestors of Gujarâtî, Sindhî, Lahndâ, Panjâbî and Hindî. As the speakers of the so-called Pahâṛî languages, moving along the foot-hills of the Himâlaya, settled down in their new homes, these languages lost touch with their relatives in the north-west, and developed independently. Being brought into close contact with the dialects of the plains to the south, they shared with them important sound changes. So, in the case of Nepâlî we find the Hindî and Bihârî dialects exercising a strong and apparently increasing influence. Among the modern Indo-Aryan languages Nepâlî is most closely allied to Kumâonî, its neighbour on the west. This linguistic evidence corroborates the historical information we possess as to the introduction in comparatively recent times of this form of Indo-Aryan speech into Nepâl. For it must be remembered that most of the languages spoken in

Nepâl, such as Newârî, Murmi, Gurung, Róng (Lepcha), Mâgarî and Sunwâr, belong to the Tibeto-Burman Sub-Family. Nepâlî, also known by the names Gorkhâlî, Parbatiyâ and Khas-kurâ, was introduced under the dominion of the Râjpûts who migrated, under pressure of the Muhammadan kings of Delhi, into Gaṛhwâl, Kumâon and western Nepâl, and gradually extending their influence in the hill country, occupied the town of Gorkhâ in 1559 A.D. It was a ruler of this 'House of Gorkha,' as Buchanan Hamilton described the dynasty, who in 1769 finally brought the whole of Nepâl under his sway and founded the existing kingdom. Whether other Indo-Aryan dialects had previously been spoken in Nepâl is not definitely known, but it is likely that this had been the case. "If there were such an Indo-Aryan language," Prof. Turner writes, "it was probably closely akin to the ancestor of Bhojpuri and Maithili."

Some of the special features of this dictionary may be briefly noticed. The etymological notes, which have been printed within square brackets under the words concerned, are concisely recorded, but disclose much research and are, we think, of outstanding philological value. We would like to see scholarship of this character directed to the etymological side in Hindî dictionaries. It will be noticed that care has been taken to distinguish words borrowed from Sanskrit (i.e., loan words) from words inherited or descended from that language. The indexes, so accurately and fully prepared by Mrs. Turner, which contain some 48,000 words arranged alphabetically under each language side by side with the Nepâlî connected words, will be most useful for purposes of reference to students of other Indo-Aryan languages. Besides Indo-Aryan, a few words of Dravidian, Muṇḍâ, Tibeto-Burman and other languages have been included. We should perhaps have expected more evidence of Tibeto-Burman and Muṇḍâ influences in the vocabulary; and it is possible that extended research in the direction of these languages will reveal further such traces. In the matter of orthography certain innovations will be observed. These are fully explained in the Introduction. For instance, Turnbull's practice in the use of the *virâma* has been adopted, and *tatsamas* have been written as actually pronounced, except in the case of words still confined to purely learned circles. Prof. Turner expressly explains that he has invented no new spelling, but adopted the system which most nearly represents in writing the actual pronunciation of the spoken word. This is a thoroughly sound principle, and having regard to the etymological notes and the index of Sanskrit words added, the most fastidious critics should be satisfied.

In a work of this size and comprehensive character it is inevitable that some errors should creep in; that they are so rare is testimony of the care and accurate methods of the compiler. The few we have noticed are chiefly in respect of words of Arabic or Persian origin. Had any reliable dictionaries of the Bihârî vernaculars been published, Prof. Turner would have received much help therefrom. We notice, however, that he has carefully searched, and made good use of that invaluable storehouse of rural terms, *Bihar Peasant Life*, compiled by Sir George Grierson.

Professor Turner is to be warmly congratulated on the publication of this fine piece of work, which we hope is the auspicious harbinger of a greater work for which material is accumulating.

C. E. A. W. O.

A CALENDAR OF THE COURT MINUTES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1671-1673. By Ethel Bruce Sainsbury, with an Introduction by W. T. Ottewill, M.B.E. 8¾ × 6 in.; pp. xxvii+356. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1932.

This volume forms the ninth of the series of Calendars compiled by Miss Sainsbury; and the work is of the same high standard as characterised the previous volumes. The introduction, the first to be written by Mr. Ottewill, Sir William Foster's successor at the India Office, contains a carefully prepared analysis of the contents, which is of great help to the reader. The three-year period was comparatively uneventful in India itself, but was marked by better trading results and the resumption (after five years) of payment of dividends by the Company, in spite of the renewal of war with the Dutch, which necessitated the adoption of special measures, such as the supply of convoys, for the protection of the Company's fleets. The most sensational events perhaps were the capture by four Dutch men-of-war, on the 1st Jan. 1673, of the island of St. Helena, which had been in possession of the Company since 1651, and its recapture along with three Dutch E. I. ships by Captain (afterwards Sir) Richard Munden four months later. The island was restored to the Company, who continued to hold it until the Crown assumed possession in 1834.

The full index has been prepared with Miss Sainsbury's customary care.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE RELIGION OF TIBET, by SIR CHARLES BELL, K.C.I.E., C.M.G. 9×6 in.; pp. xvi+235; 69 illustrations and 3 maps. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1931.

This is the third of a triad of works on Tibet written by the author since his retirement from service under the Government of India, the previous two volumes being *Tibet: Past and Present*, and *The People of Tibet*. The exceptional, in some respects unique, opportunities afforded by 19 years' official employment on its frontiers and in Tibet itself, and more particularly his personal friendship with the two highest dignitaries in that country, the Dalai Lama and the Ta-shi Lama, eminently qualify Sir Charles to describe the land, its people and their religion. In the present volume we have an attractive survey, arranged on historical lines and intended for the general reader, of the more important phases of the religious life of the people.

After a brief description of the old religion of the people, known to themselves as Pōn, a sort of Shamanism, which, in one form or another, was once so widely prevalent over the northern parts of the Eastern Hemisphere and extended even into the north of America, we are given a short survey of the rise of Buddhism in India and its gradual introduction into Tibet during the seventh to ninth centuries A.D., the real foundation there being laid by Padma Sambhava in the eighth century. Then we are told how the new religion met with powerful opposition from followers of the old faith and was suppressed for at least 70 years, reviving later and spreading, as a result chiefly of the influence of the teaching of learned Buddhist missionaries from India, like Atisha, under whom and under Mar-pa and others it took a strong Tantrik turn. As Sir Charles writes, Tantrism was more congenial to the Tibetan nomad, "travelling in wild wastes and facing the unknown forces of Nature on a stupendous scale" than the "agnostic disillusionment or the intricate metaphysics of the earlier Buddhist schools." Pōnism, moreover, was still a real force in the land—the "Tibetan religion," as it is called in the *Tep-ter Ngōn-po*. Buddhism, in fact, was developed in Tibet upon lines that best suited the people. The author aptly adds: "Their (the Tibetans') capacity for building is shown in the massive monasteries that harmonize so admirably with the great mountains round them, their capacity for organization is shown by the completeness of their hierarchy and their monastic discipline. This complex system, however, has perforce to defer to the needs of the ordinary Tibetan, and meet him in respect of spirits, good and bad, and supply, or allow others to supply, the charms and spells that control these heirs of the older Faith."

Chapters follow on the great poet-saint Mi-la Re-pa, on the Yellow Hat sect founded by Tsong-ka-pa, and on the capture in the sixteenth century of Mongolia, then dominated by Altan Khagan, by Buddhism, which had originally been carried to that country as early as the thirteenth century by Sa-kya hierarchs. We are told how the Yellow Hat sect suffered a set-back in the first half of the seventeenth century, when the Kar-ma-pa ruler of Tsang gained ascendancy, till the Oēlot Mongol chief Gusri invaded and conquered the country, at the invitation of the young (5th) Dalai Lama, to whom the temporal, as well as spiritual, rule was then handed over. After some chapters treating chiefly of historical matter, in Part II (chaps. XIII-XV) the author describes the power of the monasteries, how the priests function as civil and military officials, and how the supreme government is conducted under a priest-king. Lastly, we have a valuable note on the sources from which the information given has been compiled. Sir C. Bell has had the advantage of being presented by the Dalai and Ta-shi Lamas themselves of authentic copies of some of the oldest and most important records, including the *Chö-jung* of Pü-ton and the *Tep-ter Ngōn-po* of the "Translator Gö."

The reader will not fail to perceive the warm sympathy of a cultured mind with the people, and the personal interest in their lives and beliefs that pervade this book, which is beautifully illustrated from photographs taken by the author himself.

C. E. A. W. O.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL BULLETINS FROM THE ZOOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. Bulletin No. I. A Report on the Human Relics recovered by the Naga Hills (Burma) Expedition. By B. S. Guha and P. C. Basu. Pp. 68, Plates I—XXII. Calcutta, July 1931.

From an intensive examination of 219 human bones collected from the houses of some fourscore villages in the extreme north of Burma the authors of this well-illustrated monograph infer the existence, side by side with the Mongolian types which dominate this area, of an Australoid strain with characters resembling those of the Kadars of S. India, the Papuans of Melanesia, and the Tasmanians. Comment on these far-reaching deductions would, in the present dearth of published evidence bearing on the subject, be premature, but a series of Bulletins of this quality should go a long way towards clarifying some of the perplexities of Indian race origins.

F. J. R.

JALOR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMÂRA VÎSALA, DATED V.S. 1174.

BY SAHITYACHARYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU.

THIS inscription was fixed in the inner side of the northern wall of the building called "Tôpkhânâ" at Jalor (Mârwâṛ). It was first noticed by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar in *PRASI. W. C.*, 1908-9, p. 54, and summarised by him in No. 194 of his *List of Inscr. N. I.* During my recent visit to the place I found it fixed in the wall upside down and brought it to the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur, for preservation.

The inscription is engraved on a bulky white stone slab, which measures 2′ 3½″ × 1′ 10″. But on reading the contents it was found that when this stone was removed from its original place to be fixed in the Tôpkhânâ (sometimes used as a mosque) it was damaged a bit on one side. This is inferred from the fact that the last two letters of the 4th and the 5th lines are missing.

The inscription contains 13 lines. The language is Sanskrit, and the characters belong to the northern type of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era. As regards orthography, the consonant following *r* is doubled, except in one case.

The date given in this inscription is Saṁvat 1174 Âṣâḍha Sudi 5 Bhaumê, corresponding to Tuesday the 25th June 1118 A.D. The Saṁvat given in it is Shrâvaṇâdi and not Chaitrâdi.

The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that this is the only inscription hitherto found which gives the genealogy of the branch of the Paramâras who ruled over Jalor. Vâkpatirâja, the first Paramâra ruler mentioned in this inscription, is quite different from Vâkpatirâja, the Paramâra ruler of Mâlwâ: for the latter had no male issue and therefore adopted his nephew Bhojâ, while the one mentioned in this inscription had a son named Chandana.

As the inscription is dated V.S. 1174, the time of this Vâkpatirâja would be about V.S. 1150. It is therefore probable that the founder of the Paramâra branch of Jalor might have had some connection with Dharaṇî Varâha, the Paramâra ruler of Âbu.

Text.

1. ॐ जेतुं विश्वामित्रं वशिष्ठमुनिनातिकोपपूर्ण्णेन
2. परमारणाय जनित [:] कुंडे तेनैव परमार [:]
3. आसीद्वाक्पतिराजनामनृपति : श्रीपारमारा [न्वये]
4. तत्पुत्रोजनि चन्दना (नो) वनिपतिः तन्नंदनो देव [राट्]
5. तत्पुत्रस्त्वपराजित [:] समभवत्प्रौढप्रताप [: स्वयं]
6. पुत्रोभूदपराजितस्य विजयी श्रीविज्जलोभूपतिः
7. सेनानीरिवशंभोः प्रद्युम्न इवाथवा हरे [र्नूनं?]
8. दक्षे (क्षो) वाम्बुजसूतेर्धारावर्षो नराधिपतिः ॥
9. धारावर्षस्य पुत्रोयं जातो वीसलभूपतिः
10. येन भूमंडलीकानां धर्ममार्गोत्र दर्शितः ॥
11. राज्ञी मेलरदेव्या (वी) तु पत्नी वीसलभूपतेः ॥
12. सौवर्ण्णं कलसं मूर्न्धि सिंधुराजेश्वरेत्र (कृ) तं ॥
13. [सं] वत् ११७४ आषाढ सुदि ५ भौमे ॥

Translation.

Ls. 1-2. The enraged Vaśiṣṭha created the Paramâra from (his) fire altar to conquer Viśvâmitra and to kill his enemies.

Ls. 3-6. There was a king named Vâkpatirâja in the dynasty of Paramâra. His son was Chandana, who got a son named Dêvarâja. Dêvarâja had a son named Aparâjita, whose son was Vijjala.

Ls. 7-8. His son, like Kârtikêya to Śiva, Pradyumna to Kṛṣṇa and Dakṣa Prajâpati to Brahmâ was Dhârâvarṣa.

Ls. 9-10. Dhârâvarṣa's son was Vîsala, who enlightened all the petty chiefs with religious knowledge.

Ls. 11-12. Mêlaradêvî, the queen of this king Vîsala, got this golden *kalaśa* put here on the steeple of the temple of Sindhu Râjêśvara.[1]

L. 13. Saṁvat 1174 Âshâḍha Sudi 5 Tuesday.

[1] This temple was probably built by Sindhurâja, the founder of the Paramâra dynasty of Abu, as is evident from the inscription dated 1218 v.s. found at Kirâdu :—

'सिंधुराजो महाराजः समभून्मरुमण्डले'

This temple is not in existence now.

KIRÂDU INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHÂLUKYA BHÎMADÊVA II AND HIS FEUDATORY CHAUHÂNA MADANABRAHMADÊVA, DATED V.S. 1235.

BY SAHITYACHARYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU.

THIS inscription is engraved on a pillar at the entrance of a Śiva temple at Kirâdu, a ruined village near Hâtmâ about 16 miles north-west of Bâdmêr in Mallânî district (Mârwâr). It was first noticed by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in *PRASI. W. C.*, 1906-07, page 42, and is summarised in No. 381 of his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India.*

It contains 16 lines and covers a space of $17\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$. The language is Sanskrit. Except three couplets, one in the beginning and two at the end, the whole is in prose. The middle portion, from the 5th to the 14th line, as also the 16th line, has peeled off. As regards orthography it is to be noted that at some places the consonant following *r* is doubled, at one place *s* is used for *ś* and at others *ś* for *s*.

The record, after paying reverence to Śiva in prose and poetry, gives the date as V.S. 1235, Kârttika Śudi 13 Gurau (=Thursday the 26th October 1178 A.D.) when in the reign of Bhîmadêva (II) (V.S. 1235-1298) his feudatory Śâkambarî (Chauhâna) *Mahârâjaputra* Madanabrahmadêva was ruling at Kirâṭakûpa (Kirâḍu), and Têjapâla was carrying on the administration. It also tells us that the latter's (Têjapâla's) wife, seeing the old image of the temple broken by Turuṣkas, installed a new image on the aforesaid date; and, making a request to the ruler (Madanabrahmadêva), provided two gifts for the gods.

Text.

१. ऊँ ऊँनमः शिवायः (य) सधूर्जटि [र्जयत्यव] जयिनां (?) विजया इव[1] यस्यैकपल्लितश्रांतिक—

२. रोत्यद्यापि या (जा) ह्नवी । संवत् १२३५ कार्तिक [शुदि] १३ गुरावद्येह
श्रीमदणहिल्लपाटकाधिष्ठित महाराजाधिराज

३. परमेश्वर परमभट्टारक रिपुवंशाप्ररोह [रामावतार ?] श्रीमद्भीमदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तत्प्रभुप्रसादावाप्त श्री

४. किराटकूपे रविरिवसप्रतापः हिम [कर [रुचिर] कराभिरामः मेरुरिव] सुवर्ण्णश्रियामनोरमो घनेक समरसंघ—

५. ट्टवैरिकरिघटापीठदारुणकरवाल [शा] कंभरीभूपा [ल] — — — — [महा] राजपुत्रश्रीमदन-
ब्रह्मदेवराज्ये तस्य स —

६. दाज्ञाभिधायी लब्धमहापंचशब्दादिसर्व्वालंकारो — — — — — — [सर्व्वा] धिकार सकलव्या-
पारचिंतांतर स (श) क्ट

७. धुरार्धोरियकलमहं० श्रीतेजपाल [देव] सुपत्नीव [मानस ?] — — — — — [यी] राजहंसीमिव
लज्जितपदमार्ग्गा सुरसुंद —

८. रीमिवसत (सतत) मनिमेषावलोक [न] — — — — — — — धल्ल देवा (?)
— — — — — — जललवतरलतरं जीवितव्यं चाकल्प्य ऐ —

९. हिकाऽमुष्मिक [फ] लंचांगीकृ [त्य] — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — र देवभवा[2] मूर्तिरासीत् सांतुरकै (ष्कै) र्भग्ना

१०. तांच निरीक्ष्य तस्मिन्य (न्न) पि — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — सकलसुरासुरमुकुटमणिकि.रि (र) ण —

११. संघट्टघर्षितपादपद्मयु [गलं] — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — कारयित्वाऽस्मिन् दिने प्रतिष्ठिता ॥

१२. तया च चतुर्द्द (श) महानदी — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — —. — [वि] ज्ञिप्य स्व राजानं प्रशा (सा) दं याचयित्वा

१३. श्रीकिराटकूपीय शु — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — दिनं दत्त [मिदं] विंशोपकद्वयं ॥

१४. तथा दीपार्थं च दत्त (त्तं) तैल — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — न्यैरपिभूपालैराचंद्रार्क

१५. यावत् पालनीयं ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । [यस्ययस्ययदा] भूमी तस्य तस्य तदाफलं ॥१

१६. स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — [फ] ल [म्] ॥२ मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥

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[1] The original seems to have °र्जटाजूटो जयतां विजयाद् (य) वः [।] —D. R. B.

[2] Perhaps °देवतना (belonging to the god) has to be read.

BANGAL AND THE CITY OF BANGALA.

(Contributions to an old controversy.)

BY THE LATE SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

IN 1921 Professor Suniti Chatterji sent a long note to Sir George Grierson on the old controversy about the "City of Bengal, Bengala, Banghella or Bangala" and on the term "Bengal" or "Bangal" itself, which Sir George passed on to me in reference to Dames's long footnote on the former in his edition of *Barbosa*, vol. II, pp. 135-145. According to the Professor, to a Bengali, "Bangâla" means all Bengal and "Bangâl," Eastern Bengal only. In that sense "Bangâl" was frequently used in medieval Bengali literature, and nowadays it is held to be so much a matter of common knowledge as not to require the support of literary evidence.

The Professor wrote: "At the present day we call our province Bâṅgâlâ, or Bấṅlâ, or Baṅgâlâ (Bấṅlâ)-deś, the term embracing all Bengal, North, South, West, East; but when we say Bâṅgâl (Bâṅgâl)-deś, without the final *-â*, we mean Eastern Bengal, not specifically any particular tract, but all the eastern Bengali area where the language is characterised by some special phonetic and morphological characteristics (e.g., *ts, s, dz* pronunciation of *c, ch, j*; retention of the epenthesis, deaspiration of aspirates, e.g., *bhâgya*=West Bengali *bhâggŏ* but pronounced *bâiggŏ*, dropping the *h*, change of *ś* to *h*, use of *re* and not *ke* for the dative: use of *mu*, future, for the 1st person). A Bengali speaker, no matter where he comes from, is a Bâṅ(g)âlî, but Bâṅ(g)âl is a man from Eastern Bengal. The forms with the wider connotation, Bâṅgâlâ, Bâṅgâlî, are recent, and to all appearance borrowed from the Hindostânî (or Persian) Bangâlah, Bangâlî. The other form, without the terminal *â* or *î*, is older, being normally developed out of Vaṅgâla, and retains the old connotation of the word. Bâṅ(g)âl is a term of contempt, and a Western Bengali speaker habitually employs it in a disparaging sense, although the Eastern man would call himself also a Bâṅ(g)âlî. Sometimes an Eastern Bengali person would resent the use of the term Bâṅgâl from the accompanying tone or gesture of contempt, though he does not object to his patois and his part of the province being called Bâṅgâlbhâṣâ [or Bâṅ(g)âle, i.e., Bâṅgâliyâ kathâ] and Bâṅgâl-deś. This contemptuous use of Bâṅgâl(a) we find as early as the twelfth century, at least. Sarvânanda, a Paṇḍit of Western Bengal, in his commentary on the *Amarakôṣa* (dated 1159) gives Old Bengali words in explanation of Sanskrit terms: and he explains the Skr. word *sidhma*, 'dried fish,' by a remark: *Yatra vaṅgâla-vaccârâṇâm prîtiḥ*—'in which the low Bâṅgâl people find enjoyment.'"

Then by way of explaining the various terms for the Province of Bengal or its parts, *viz.*, Baṅgâl, Baṅgâlâ, Vaṅgâ, Vaṅgâla, and also Varendra, Gauḍa, Râḍha and Samataṭa, the Professor made the following illuminating remarks: "Bâṅgâlâ, Bâṅgâlî are convenient names for the language and people of the whole tract of Beṅgal. and Vaṅga-deśa in the sense of the whole of Bengal is but a Sanskrit rendering of Bangâlah in the *sâdhu-bhâṣâ*; so also is Vaṅga-bhâṣâ of the *zăbân-i-Bangâlah*. But that the form Baṅgâl referring specifically to Eastern Bengal carries on the tradition of an earlier state of things when Vaṅga, Vaṅgâla (Bangâla) meant the land or people of the eastern part of the province, is attested by epigraphic and literary remains. Thus, Bengal consists of four tracts: Varendra or Varendrî or Gauḍa=N. Bengal; Râḍhâ=W. Bengal; Vaṅga = E. Bengal, and Samataṭa=the Delta. Gauḍa, probably as early as the closing centuries of the first millennium A.D., came to mean West Bengal and North Bengal (Varendra and Râḍhâ), and Samataṭa and Vaṅga were used as synonyms of South-East and East Bengal. Fa Hian knew Samataṭa-Vaṅga as Harikela, a name which is found in epigraphy, as well as in a medieval Sanskrit work, where it was called 'Harikelâs tu Vaṅgîyaḥ.' Epigraphic references can be found in R. D. Banerji's *Pâlas of Bengal* (*Memoirs of the ASB.*, vol. V, No. 3, cf. pp. 44-45, p. 71, etc.). It seems then that in Western India, Vaṅga was loosely applied to all Bengal during the closing centuries of the first millennium A.D.—an application of the term, which, to some extent, was accepted in Bengal as well, and helped the adoption in modern times of the Western (Hindostânî) term

Bangâlah as the national name. In the various biographies of Chaitanya written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we are told that he travelled to Vaṅga or East Bengal, where he used to make fun of the people by imitating their pronunciation, a thing which they resented. The same thing is done now among the people of Western Bengal, who never let an occasion go when they can parody the Bâṅgâl pronunciation. Western Bengal, with Nadîyâ as its centre, was known as Gauḍa: Gauḍa and Vaṅga are also used in the early (pre-Muslim) inscriptions to denote West and East Bengal. When Râmmohan Rây wrote his *Bengali Grammar*, about 1830, he called it *Gauḍîya bhâṣâr Vyâkaraṇ*. M. Madhu-Sûdan Datta in his epic *Meghanâdavadha Kâvya* (in the seventies of the last century) refers to the Bengali-speaking people as Gauḍajana. The old tradition is carried on in two recent publications of the Varendra Research Society of Râjshâhî—*Gauḍa-lekha-mâlâ* and *Gauḍa-râjamâlâ*. It is through foreign influence and example, namely of the Persian-employing Muslims, of the people of Upper India and the Portuguese and the English, that Bangâlah—Bengal was given to the whole province as its proper name."

He then passed to a very brief consideration of the term 'City of Bengala' in its various forms, originating in the works of Portuguese writers: "I read a few years ago a monograph by Babu Bîrendranâth Basu Ṭhâkur in Bengali seeking to locate 'the City of Bengal' in the Dacca District. In this book he quoted amply from Portuguese and other travellers in English—evidently taking much pains over his work. The view he put forward was that the 'City of Bengal' of the early European travellers is Sunârgâoṅ in the Dacca District, i.e., in Eastern Bengal. Babu Amulya Charan Vidyâbhûṣaṇa, Professor of Pali in Calcutta and a well-known writer on Bengali history and antiquities of Bengal, at one time studied the question of the 'City of Bengal,' or as he calls it of 'Bengalla,' and agrees with the above view. Indeed, I found that many of his arguments had been incorporated in Bîrendranâth Basu Ṭhâkur's monograph."

Dames, in his very fine edition of *Barbosa* and in the very careful note he made on the 'City of Bengala,' however, took another view of the question, as noted in 1923 in my long review of his book (*ante*, vol. LII, "Some discursive comments on Barbosa"): "I propose now to confine myself to the remark that he rejects Chittagong, Sunârgâoṅ and Satgâoṅ, and finally fixes on 'Gauṛ taken together with its subsidiary ports' as the place known as Baṅgâla in the early part of the sixteenth century."

Personally, I feel sure that Dames was wrong in this *identification*, and Heawood, writing in the *Geographical Journal* in 1921, was of the same opinion: "One of the puzzles that will probably be never definitely solved is that of the identity of the city spoken of by early travellers under the name Bengala (or Banghella) as the chief commercial emporium of the kingdom of the same name. It has been discussed (among others) by Mr. G. P. Badger in his edition of *Varthema's Travels*, and by Sir Henry Yule both in *Cathay* and in *Hobson-Jobson*. The latter gave the weight of his great authority in favour of the identification with Chittagong, holding that it was a case of transferring the name of a country to one of its principal cities or ports, a habit which he attributed to the Arabs generally. The latest [in 1921] and most thorough discussion of the problem is that of Mr. Longworth Dames in the second volume of his admirable edition of *Barbosa* (the first writer after Varthema to mention the city as 'Bengala'), lately published by the Hakluyt Society. Mr. Dames devotes to the subject a note extending to nine pages of small type, in which, after summarizing all the evidence extant and the views of previous commentators, he gives it as his opinion that by 'Bengala' the old capital Gaur, taken together with its subsidiary port or ports (Satgaon or Sunargaon or both), is intended. A striking piece of evidence in favour of this is the mention of 'Gaur-Bengâla,' apparently as one city, in an inscription at Kandahar dating from 1594. Mr. Dames contests Yule's view that the Arabs were accustomed to use the name of a country for its principal town, though they occasionally, he says, followed the reverse custom. Yet he allows that the city of Gaur took its name from the country, and

that the name Bangâla 'seems in its turn to have passed in common usage from the country to the capital,' so that the objection to Yule's view seems limited to his ascription of the practice to the Arabs. As against Chittagong Mr. Dames holds also that it was only temporarily and imperfectly subjected to Bengal, and was thus hardly likely to be taken for the latter's principal port in Barbosa's time. Its later use by the Portuguese, under the name Porto Grande, as their chief port of entry, was, he thinks, principally because there was no strong government there to fight against. These considerations are certainly weighty, yet some may think that there is more to be said for Yule's view than Mr. Dames would allow. Thus the Cantino map of 1502 already shows Chittagong prominently as one of the two great ports of this part of India (the other being Satgaon), and the position given to it at the point where the Bay of Bengal runs up into a funnel-shaped opening in the land fits in well with Barbosa's account. It does not seem impossible that Barbosa's description may actually have been influenced by a knowledge of charts like Cantino's, for there are many indications that the notions of early writers were largely tinged by their knowledge of current maps, as well as *vice versâ*.

"Again the Turkish sea-book, the *Mohit*, edited by Bittner and Tomaschek in 1897 (*Journal*, vol. II, p. 76) which though considerably later in date (1554) than Barbosa, has been shown by Tomaschek to have been based on earlier sources, describes precisely the same state of things, Chittagong being spoken of moreover (to use Bittner's translation) as 'der Hafen Satîgâm, *d.i. das östliche Bangâla*,' while the boundary of Bengal (with Rakkang, i.e., Arracan) is drawn a good way down the east coast of the gulf. That little weight can be attached to later cartographic representations, in which Bengâla and Chittagong appear as distinct places, is evident if we consider Gastaldi's map of 1561, where the city of Gaur appears in four different forms (five, if Bengala stands for the same city), viz., Gaur, Scierno, Cernoven (the two last representing its name *Shahr-i-nau* or 'New City,' as noted by Yule), and Cor on one of the effluents of the mythical lake Chiamay, supposed by Mendez Pinto to be the Ganges. Nor can great importance be allowed to geographical compilations such as Heylin's *Cosmography* in which (ed. of 1652) Bengala is mentioned as a great city in addition to Gaur, Catigan, and Porto Grande, the writer being also ignorant of the identity of the two last named. Heylin would have it that the country took its name from the city."

In my own edition of *Varthema* (1928), p. lxvi, I wrote as follows: From Tenasserim Varthema goes to Bengal, reaching his destination about the middle of March. He says frankly that this journey was undertaken out of curiosity......Then he tells us that "having sold some of our merchandize we took the route towards the city of 'Banghella' as merchants. This term—the city of Banghella—has long been, and still is, a source of trouble to scholars: where was it? This question greatly exercised Badger in 1863, it sorely troubled Dames when editing the contemporary *Book of Duarte Barbosa* in 1921, and it has been the cause of many researches by Indian scholars in Bengal itself. Varthema, however, evidently repeats his former practice and calls the town he visited after the province in which it was situated—Bengal. The actual site is hardly yet settled, but it may be taken, for the purpose of defining Varthema's journey, to be Satgaon on an old bed of the Hugli River. On this assumption he is right in saying that "the sultan of this place is a Moor," and that the people "are all Mahommedans," as Bengal at that time was under the Husain Shahi Dynasty.

I suggest then that the true solution of the difficulties to be confronted in identifying the 'City of Bengâla' is that the old travellers did not all mean the same place by that term. Some of them found their way to Bengal and reached an emporium for foreign goods, such as Chittagong, Sunârgâoṅ or Satgâoṅ, places not necessarily near each other, and called that the 'City of Baṅgâla,' which every traveller knew by reputation. I feel sure from the general trend of his travels and from his account thereof that Varthema's 'City of Bengala' was where I have placed it, whatever place other writers and travellers may have meant by that term.

DRAVIDIC PROBLEMS.

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L. (MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE, ERNAKULAM).

I. Tuḷu H.

[A] GENERAL.

THE glottal fricative *h*, it is well to remember, does exist as a *secondary* development in many of the Dravidian dialects.

Tamil shows it dialectally in the development of the inter-vocal velar plosive *-k-* (*-g-*) which, while it changes in common parlance to the half-voiced variety of the velar fricative [x], becomes a semi-voiced glottal fricative in certain communal dialects. As the oral fricative generally involves some separation of the vocal chords, the tendency (wherever this is present) to give this fricative a distinct individuality leads to the issue of a strong breath-current from the glottal region itself and to the consequent production of the aspirate *h*.

The minute sound known as *āydam* [ஆய்தம்] in Tamil, appearing in a few ancient words after short initial syllables and before the voiceless plosives *-k*, *-t*, *-p*, and before *-c* and *ṟ* (which latter are also classed by ancient Tamil grammarians in the plosive series), presumably also involved an aspirate element from an early stage.

Modern Kannaḍa shows an initial glottal fricative *h-*, developed from an older *p-*; folk- Kannaḍa also shows more rarely a prothetic *h-*.

The central Dravidian dialect Kûi shows the glottal fricative in a number of contexts:—(a) Intervocally, as the development of an original velar surd *-k-*, through the stage of the velar fricative [x]; (b) at the terminal positions of very old bases, where the aspirate appears to have cropped up in connection with the formative affix *-k*; (c) initially as a sub-dialectal development of other sounds.

Gôṇḍi, the other central Dravidian dialect, also shows the aspirate :—(a) in connection with the formative ending *-k* of certain verbs; (b) in connection with the plural ending *-k* of nouns having final long dorsal vowels; (c) in connection with the same plural ending *-k* of nouns with final *-l*, *-n* or *-r* preceded by long vowels; (d) in connection with the causative affix *-t*; (e) and prothetically in a few cases.

Kurukẖ possesses the glottal fricative (a) in aspirated plosives; (b) as the development of a velar fricative *x* • transcribed in grammars as *kẖ* which sound (judged by the description given by Father Grignard) would appear to be so nearly related in origin to the glottal fricative as to involve in its production a certain amount of aspiration; (c) as the development of an original Dravidian initial *k-* of native words; and (d) dialectally as a prothetic sound.

Brâhûî possesses *h-* (a) prothetically (cf. Sir Denys Bray's *Grammar of Brâhûi*, page 32); (b) in the peculiar aspirated sound transcribed as *lẖ* by Sir Denys Bray; (c) as the development, in certain cases, of older sounds.

In a paper contributed by me to the columns of this journal some time back, I gave a summary sketch of these points and a few instances to illustrate them. It would be necessary for us to pursue the study of the occurrence and origin of *h* in each of the dialects separately, so that we may have an idea of the factors that have contributed in each case to the production of this secondarily developed glottal fricative.

In this paper I propose to study some of the features characterising the production of *h* in Tuḷu. The contexts in which the glottal fricative *h* occurs in this dialect are the following :—(a) as the representative of *p-* in initial positions of certain "learned" loan-words and of sub-dialectal borrowings from Kann.; (b) as the development of an older *t-* initially; (c) as a prothetic sound.

h- occurs chiefly in Tuḷu only in initial positions of native words; inter-vocally native words [except a few borrowings from the contiguous dialect Kannaḍa, like *arihu* (knowledge)] do not have the aspirate at all.

[B] TUḶU *h*- CORRESPONDING TO *p*-.

[*Note.*—(a) These *h*- words in Tuḷu are all borrowed from Kann., being either rare sub-dialectal forms or "learned" words.

(b) Many of these *h*- words have genuine Tuḷu *p*- counterparts which are far more generally and commonly used. A few like *halavu, hâku, hâvu, hâḷu*, etc., are "learned" borrowings from Kann. They have no counterparts in Tuḷu with *p*-.]

hagalu, pagalu (daytime) —cf. Tam. *pagal*, old Kannada *pagal*, modern Kannaḍa *hagalu*.
hani, pani (slight rain) —cf. Tamil *pani* (cold), old Kannaḍa *pani*, mod. Kann. *hani*, Kûi *pini* (cold).
hari, pari (to run, to flow)—cf. mod. Kannaḍa *hari* (to flow), Tamil *para-kk-* (to spread).
hala-vu (many) —cf. mod. Kannaḍa *hala*, south Dr. *pala*.
haḷabe, parabœ (old man)—cf. mod. Kann. *haḷe* (old), Tam. *paḻ-aya* (old, ancient).
hâku (to flog, to lash) —cf. mod. Kann. *hâk-* (to throw; colloquial also 'flog' or 'beat') and Tamil *pây-kk-* (to cast).
hâvu (snake) —cf. mod. Kann. *hâvu*, Tamil *pâmbu*, Tel. *pâmu*.
hâsige (mat) —cf. mod. Kannaḍa *hâsige* (mat), Tamil *pây* (mat) connected with the base *pây* (to spread).
hâḷu (ruin) —cf. mod. Kannaḍa *hâḷu* and Tam. *pâḻ* (waste).
hiṅg (to be unsteady) —cf. mod. Kann. *hiṅg-* (to go back) and common Dr. base *pi-* (back) in Tam. *pin*, etc.
hiḍi, piḍi (hold, grasp) —cf. mod. Kann. *hiḍi*, Tamil *piḍi*.
huṭṭu, puṭṭu (birth) —cf. mod. Kann. *huṭṭu*, old Kann. *puṭṭu*, Tel. *puṭṭu*, Tamil *piṟa-*, coll. *poṟa-kk* (to be born).
hullu, pullu (grass) —cf. mod. Kannaḍa *hullu*, Tam. *pullu*.
heṅgasu (woman) —cf. mod. Kann. *heṅgasu* (woman), Tamil *peṇ*, etc.
hemma (abundance) —cf. *hemma* of mod. Kann. Old Kan. *herma, perma*, and Tam. *peru-mai*.

In connection with these instances the following facts are significant :—

(i) While the change of *p*- > *h*- has affected almost all Kannaḍa words of the modern period (vide Kittel's *Grammar*, § 64), only a fraction of *p*- forms of Tuḷu shows *h*- as rare sub-dialectal instances. A large number of native words with initial *p*- remain unchanged, e.g., *pañji* (pig), *pajœ* (mat), *paṭṭœ* (strip, stripe), *pade-* (to become invisible), *pasœ* (greasiness), *pâdœ* (rock), *pây-* (to be diffused), *piji-* (to twist), *pugœ* (smoke), *puṭṭu-* (to be born), *puda* (dove), etc., etc.

These *p*- forms do not possess any corresponding *h*- forms in Tuḷu even sub-dialectally. Of course a few of these *p*- forms do have cognates among the *h*- words, but the differences in structure or in meaning or in both are significant :—

Tuḷu.	Tuḷu. [borrowings]	Kannaḍa.
pajœ (mat)	*hâsige* (mat)	*hâsige* (mat).
pâr- (to fly)	*hari* (to run)	*hari* (to run, to flow).
pira (behind)	*hiṅg-* (to be unsteady)	*hing-* (to go back).
poṇṇu (girl)	*hengasu* (woman)	*heṅgasu* (woman).

Let us note that the Tuḷu forms with initial *h*- show an unmistakable resemblance in structure and meaning to the Kannaḍa forms with *h*-.

(ii) None of the *h*- forms (listed above) show any characteristic Tuḷu features. The change of non-Tuḷu -*ṟ*- to Tuḷu -*d*- or -*j*- is one of the most prominent of the distinctive characteristics of Tuḷu.[1] This is not evident in any of these *h*- words ; on the other hand, the *p*- words of Tuḷu do retain this feature, e.g., *puda* (dove), *pâdæ* (rock), *pij*- (to twist), *pañji* (pig), etc. Note also how the characteristic Tuḷu final *æ* of nouns does not exist in the *h*- forms listed above.

(iii) Many of the *h*- forms (listed above) alternate with corresponding *p*- forms : *pullu*, *hullu* (grass) ; *palli*, *halli* (lizard) ; *pû*, *hû* (flower). This alternation seems to have a sub-dialectal basis. On enquiry I find that only the people of the eastern and north-eastern areas of the Tuḷu-speaking region, which are contiguous to the Kannaḍa country, favour the forms with initial *h*-, while the alternative *p*- words are far more generally and commonly used elsewhere.

All these facts cumulatively show that Tuḷu *h*- words listed above are borrowings from Kannaḍa, in which language *p*- > *h*- is a regular feature of the medieval and modern dialects.

The change of *p*- > *h*- in Kannaḍa has been ascribed by Kittel to the influence of Marâṭhî. The process of change was apparently through the bilabial fricative stage [F] which changed to *h*- when the breath-current from the glottis was incorporated.

It may be noted here that a similar change affecting other surds has occurred in other Dravidian dialects also. The production of a glottal fricative from a surd through the initial change of the surd into the corresponding fricative (with or without voicing) and then through the incorporation of a breath-current issuing through the widely separated vocal chords is illustrated by the following :—

(*a*) Tamil intervocal -*h*- < -*k*-, as in *pôhu*, *ahalam*, etc.
-*k*- > [x] > -*h*-

(*b*) Kûi intervocal -*h* < -*k* -, as in *vêhu*, etc.
-*k*- > [x] > -*h*-

(*c*) Kûi initial *h*- < *k*- and < *t*- [sub-dialectally].
k- > [c] > [ç] > *h*-.
t- > [θ] > *h*-

(*d*) Kûvi initial *h*- < *p*-, as in *hô* (to go)
p- > [F] > *h*-

(*e*) Kurukh dialectal *h*- < the back fricative, as in *hoy* (to reap) < *xoy* < *koy*.
x- [derived from velar *k*-] > *h*- dialectally.

(*f*) Tuḷu *h*- < *t*- [vide below].
t- > [θ] > *h*-

[C] TUḶU *t*- > *h*-

This change is native and is a dialectal one. While *t*- words are retained among the non-Brahmin masses of the southern areas, *h*- forms appear in the eastern and the south-eastern taluks. In certain northern areas and among certain communities of the south, *s*- also appears in some cases in the stead of *t*- or *h*-

harp-, *tarp*- (to cut open).	
hâg-, *tâg*- (to touch, to come in contact)	—cf. Kannaḍa *tâg*, Tamil *tâṅg*-.
hâræ, *târæ* (coconut palm)	—cf. Tam. *tâḷ-ai* (palm), Kûi *târi* (plantain).
hikk-, *tikk*- (to be obtained)	—cf. Tam. *tiṅg*- (to be crowded).
hinp-, *tinp*- (to eat)	—cf. south Dr. *tin* (to eat).
hîr-, *tîr*- (to be finished)	—cf. south Dr. *tîr*- (to be finished).
huḍar, *tuḍar* (light, lamp)	—cf. Kann. *cuḍar* (lamp), Tam. *śuḍ*-, Tuḷu *tû* (fire), etc.

[1] Vide my " Materials for a sketch of Tuḷu phonology " to be published in the forthcoming *Grierson Commemoration Volume.*

hudœ, tudœ (river)	—cf. Tam. *tira, tura* (to open), Kann. *tuṟe* (river).
hû, tû (fire)	—cf. Brâhûî *tûbe* (moon), Tamil *tû* (bright), *tî* (fire).
hû-, tû- (to see)	—cf. Tel. *tsûḍ-*, Brâhûî *hur-* (to see), Gôṇḍi *hur* (to see).
heli-, teli- (to know)	—cf. Tamil *teri-* (to know, become clear).
hôj-, tôj (to appear)	—cf. Tamil *tônd'r-* (to appear), Kann. *tôṟ* (to appear), Kûi *tôj-* (to appear).
hôḍu, tôḍu (channel)	—cf. south Dr. *tôḍu* (channel).

The following significant features may be singled out in connection with this change :—

(i) The change is dialectal in Tuḷu; the change is not met with in the neighbouring Kannaḍa at all.

(ii) The cognates of these forms in the other dialects show either (a) an initial *t-* or (b) initial *c-*, *ś-* or *s-* according to the dialects concerned.

I have shown elsewhere that the initial affricates and fricatives of Dravidian are derivative. *t-* forms in the Tuḷu instances given above have to be considered original.

The phonetic process of the production of *h-* from *t-* is a question bound up with the problem of the conversion of the original *t-* to the affricates and fricatives. In my paper on "Dravidian initial Affricates and Fricatives" I have pointed out that, all circumstances taken together, the aspirate sound of Tuḷu was *not* produced directly from the sibilant *s-* (which process is a common phenomenon in Indo-Âryan), but that we have reasons to think that the process of change might have been the following :—

In a large number of instances with alternating *t-*, *s-* and *h-* in initial positions, there should initially have been a loosening of the stoppage for *t-* resulting in the production of a fricative [θ] which in one dialect gave rise to the sibilant *s-* and in another changed to the aspirate by incorporating glottal breath :

t- > [θ] > *s-* ;
t- > [θ] > *h-*.

This view is strengthened by

(a) the occurrence of the change of *t-* to *h-* dialectally, without its being represented by any *s-* forms, e.g., *tinp-*, *hinp-* (to eat) ; (Skt. borrowing) *têja*, *hêja* (lustre) ; *toḍaṅku*, *hoḍaṅku* (clasp).

(b) The presence of numerous forms with alternating *t-* and *s-* (in different dialects) but without any corresponding *h-* forms, e.g., *tappu*, *sappu* (fault) ; *tôlpu*, *sôpu* (defeat) ; *tiga*, *siga* (beehive) ; *tampu*, *sampu* (cold) ; Skt. *taḍit* borrowed as *teḍilu*, *seḍilu* (thunder).

The intermediate stage represented by the fricative [θ] is the direct result of the loosening of the stoppage of the plosive ; the sibilant *s* [2], in the production of which a smaller passage is formed between the tongue and the dental portion than for [θ], can normally be only the result of the effort to give a distinct individuality to [θ] which is an unstable sound in Dravidian. This effort to stabilise [θ] apparently produced *s-* in one sub-dialect and *h-* in another.

[D] PROTHETIC *h-* IN TUḶU.

[In the following illustrations, it will be noticed that the forms with initial vowels are original, in as much as they are directly related to the cognate forms of other dialects, as our instances given below would show.]

[2] The difference between [θ] and *s* (as pointed out by Prof. Jespersen, page 34 of his *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*) is significant. The passage formed in the production of [θ] is broader than that for *s* : *Das am meisten charakteristische fur* [θ] *ist die breite spaltformige Offnung im Gegensatz zur Rillenbildung bei s.*

hamar-, *amar-* (to sink, settle)	—cf. south Dr. *amar-*.
hade-, *ade-* (to shut)	—cf. south Dr. base *aḍai-*, *aḍe-* (to shut).
hêr-, *êr-* (to ascend)	—cf. south Dr. *ēṛ-* (to climb, to rise).
hilœ (betel-leaves), *ilœ*, *irœ* (leaf)	—cf. *ilai* of Tamil, etc.

The instances[3] are few and they are regarded as "vulgarisms" in Tuḷu nâḍ itself. The *rationale* of the incorporation of *h-* in initial positions of these words is not quite clear; it is possible that the analogy of *h-* words (derived from forms with initial *t-* or *p-*) may have played some part in the process.

II. Tamil Âydam.

(ஆய்தம்)

What was the value of this ancient Tamil sound? What may have been its origin? Was it a native growth in Tamil, or was it an invention inspired by Sanskrit? So many conflicting views have been expressed on these points by different scholars, that it might be useful to consider if the data available for us can supply any clue to the solution of these problems.

[A] THE DESCRIPTIONS OF THE SOUND GIVEN BY ANCIENT TAMIL GRAMMARIANS.

The earliest Tamil grammar, Tolkâppiyam, deals with the sound in a number of *sûtras* of *Eḷuttadigâram*, of which the following may be quoted here :—

Sûtra 38 : குறியதன் முன்ன ராய்தப்புள்ளி
யுயிரொடு புணர்ந்த வல்லா றன் மிசைத்தே
kuṛiyadan munnar âydappuḷḷi
(y)uyiroḍu punarnda vallâṛan miśaittê
[i.e., *âydam* appears after short syllables and before the six surds *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p* and *ṛ*]. Cf. also *Sûtra* 91 where the *âydam* is described as a *śârpeḷuttu*.

Sûtra 39 : ஈறியல் மருங்கினு மிசைமை தோன்றும்
Iṛiyan maruṅginumiśaimai tônṛum
[i.e., it appears also when the final consonant of a word combines with the initial (surd) consonant of another word].

Nannûl, another old grammar of Tamil, deals with it in the following *sûtras* :—

Sûtra 87 of *Eḷuttiyal* :—
ஆய்தக்கிடந் தலை யங்கா முயற்சி
Âydakk-iḍan-dalai (y)aṅgâ muyarci
[i.e., *âydam* is produced in the head (i.e., the upper palate), through the opening of the mouth].

Sûtra 97 : லளவீற் றியைபினா மாய்த மஃகும்
laḷavîṭṭriyaipinâm âydam ahkum
[i.e., when final *-l* or *-ḷ* of a word combines (with the initial surd of another word), the *âydam* produced is shortened].

Sûtra 228 : குறில்வழி லளத்தவ் வணையி னாய்தம்
ஆகவும் பெறூஉம் அல்வழி யானே
kuṛilvaḷi laḷattav-(v)anaiyin-âydam
âgavum peṛûum alvaḷiyânê
[i.e., *-l* and *-ḷ* after short syllables when combining with *-t* in *alvaḷi* groups give rise to the *âydam*].

The earlier commentators of these *sûtras* of Tolkâppiyam and Nannûl have adduced in each case appropriate instances of old Tamil words and word-combinations containing the sound.

[3] In the following borrowings from Kann. with and without initial *h-*, the *h-* forms are original; *h-* appears to have been dropped in the alternative words :—

hannukâyi, *aṇṇukâyi* (coconut and plantains)	—for *haṇṇu*; cf. Tel. *paṇḍu* (fruit).
hadagu, *adagu* (ship)	—cf. Kann. *paḍagu*, *hadagu*, corrupt *adagu* (ship).
hari, *ari* (to flow)	—cf. Kannaḍa *pari*, *hari*, *ari* (to flow).

The process of change in these cases appears to be original $p- > [F] > h- > zero$.

Putting all these together, we learn the following from these *sûtras* :—

(*a*) The sound *âydam* occurs after initial short vowels (or syllables) and before surds, as in அஃது *aḥtu* (that), எஃகு *eḥku-* (steel), etc., etc.

(*b*) In combinative groups of the *alvaḷi* type, final *-l* or *-ḷ* of initial short syllabled words, when combining with the initial *t-* of the succeeding words, might alternatively give rise to the *âydam*, as in *kal* (stone)+*tîdu* (bad)>*kaḥd'îdu* (stone is bad), *muḷ* (thorn)+*tîdu* (bad)>*muḥḍîdu* (thorn is bad).

(*c*) Nannûl recognises the place of production of the sound as 'the head' (i.e., the upper palate) and the mode of articulation as 'the opening of the mouth.'

[B] THE OPINIONS OF DRAVIDIAN SCHOLARS.

Caldwell is of the view that the "Tamil letter called *âydam*, half vowel, half consonant, corresponding in some respects to the Sanskrit *visarga*, is pronounced like a guttural *h*, but is only found in the poets and is generally considered a pedantical invention of the grammarians."—(*Comparative Grammar*, 2nd edition, page 130.)

Julien Vinson (page 19 of his *Manuel de la langue Tamoule*) says that "the symbol ஃ which Tamilians term தனிநிலை (*taninilai*) as it is never accompanied by vowels, and which is appropriately called *âydam* (minuteness, subtlety) is artificial and conventional." He proceeds to observe that "it was invented by the grammarians for the prosodic lengthening of certain syllables ; it is found only after a short vowel and before க, ச, ட, த, ப, ற, accompanied by a vowel, and is pronounced in a soft manner, like a *g* aspirated very lightly : இது (this) having become இஃது is pronounced *igdu* (as a *trochee* or *spondee* instead of *pyrrhic* or *iambus*). In the manuscripts it is often replaced by கு (*gu*) or even கூ (*gû*). I have found passages in old poems, where it should count for one syllable and should therefore be pronounced *gu* ; அஃதுடம்பு (*Kuṛal*, xcv, 3) ; இஃதென (*Naiṣada*, xii, 43), etc. But generally it serves only to lengthen a syllable : இஃதிலார் (*Kuṛal*, viii. 10) and is then pronounced without a vowel." Prof. Vinson also adds two footnotes. Adverting to the term ஆய்தம், he says that it "may mean 'weapon' or 'trident', if we take the Tamil word ஆய்தம் *âydam* for *âyudham* (Skt. आयुध) ; the three dots would represent the mark of a trident. The form of this letter is probably derived from that of the Sanskrit *visarga*." In another footnote Vinson adds that "according to native grammarians, the sound proceeds from the head and is pronounced with the mouth open ; this evidently means that it is a guttural aspiration."

Mr. S. A. Pillay, in his excellent monograph on 'The Sanskritic element in the vocabularies of the Dravidian languages' (*Dravidic Studies*. No. III, published by the Madras University, page 49) makes some very suggestive observations on the value of the Tamil *âydam* :—

"The spirant *h* is a sound not altogether foreign to Tamil. For, Tamil has the *âydam* *h* (ஃ) which is almost an equivalent of it. But the *âydam* differs from *h* in some ways. The *âydam* is found in a very few words in Tamil and is peculiar to Tamil......It is only medial and its use is much restricted......Dr. Caldwell's statement regarding this sound is, I am afraid, not based on a knowledge of facts. The *âydam* is not considered by anyone, so far as I know, a pedantical invention of the grammarians. What could have been the purpose in inventing such a letter ?.........The words are Tam. *aḥtu* and *iḥtu*. These ought to be pronounced with the aspiration, but the popular pronunciations are with a spirantic *gu* for *h*....The tendency of modern speech, however, it must be admitted, is to discard the *âydam* altogether. The words *aḥtu, iḥtu* are about the only ones commonly met with in books and in pedantic speech. They are also acknowledged to be variants of *adu* and *idu* and considered to be necessary when these words are in *sandhi* followed by words beginning with a vowel or *y*, e.g., *aḥtaḍuppu*, 'that is the oven,' *iḥtûṛ*, 'this is the village.' But to argue from that circumstance that the *âydam* is only an invention of the grammarians is like arguing that the letter *ṛ* is only an invention of the Telugu or Kannaḍa grammarians because modern speech makes no distinction between *r* and *ṛ*, or rather knows only *r*."

Finally, we may cite here the observations of a recent editor of Tolkâppiyam: "The nature of ஃ is similar to that of *jihvâmûlîya* in Sanskrit as in *kaḥ-karoti* if it precedes a guttural and *upadhmânîya* as in Sanskrit *kaḥ-paṭhati* if it precedes a labial, i.e., its organ of articulation is determined by the succeeding consonant. Air is allowed to pass till the place of articulation of the succeeding consonant is suddenly arrested. Since it is not an open (*sic*) sound inasmuch as it is invariably preceded by a short vowel, it cannot be classified as a vowel: neither is it a consonant since it cannot be followed by a vowel. In modern times it is pronounced even before *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p* and *ṟ*, as it is done before *k*. When this mistake (*sic*) began to creep in, is not easily traceable."

Conflicting in some respects are the views cited above regarding the value and the origin of the *âydam*. Mr. S. A. Pillay would consider it to be a native sound in Tamil; Vinson is inclined to regard it as an "invention by pedants," and Mr. Sastri (so far as we can see from his comparative references to Sanskrit spirants) is probably also inclined to this view. As to the value of the sound, Caldwell, Vinson and Mr. Pillay recognize its essentially aspirate character (despite the spirantic enunciation given to it today when texts are read), while Mr. Sastri would regard the sound as a spirant varying in value with the immediately following consonant, and would consider the modern velar spirantic value to be a "mistake" which crept in at some time "which is not traceable."

[C] WAS THE ÂYDAM A 'PEDANTICAL INVENTION' INSPIRED BY SANSKRIT ?

The arguments of those who would uphold a Sanskritic inspiration for this sound may be summed up thus :—

(1) The term ஆய்தம் and the form of the Tamil letter could be connected with the Sanskrit word आयुध (weapon, trident). Other suggestions[4] in this connection are that the Tamil term may be the adaptation of Sanskrit आश्रित *âśrita* or of आयत *âyata*.

(2) The shape[5] of the Tamil letter ஃ is allied to that of the Sanskrit *visarga* ः

(3) The *âydam* occurs only in a few words and combinations in old Tamil texts, and it has not survived anywhere in the colloquial.

(4) Some of the words in which this sound occurs, alternate with forms without this sound: these latter are the common forms and, therefore, the sound itself was 'invented' for prosodic purposes, probably on the model of the Sanskrit *visarga*.

(5) Certain resemblances between the *âydam* on the one hand and the Sanskrit spirantic *jihvâmûlîya* and *upadhmânîya* are very striking.

(6) The postulate that Sanskrit grammatical systems had exercised great influence on ancient Tamil scholars would also tend to support this, generally speaking.

Those who argue *contra* would maintain the following :—

(1) The *âydam* need have nothing to do with Sanskrit आयुध, as it is a native word signifying 'minuteness' or 'subtlety,' and this meaning would very appropriately convey the 'minute' value and character of this sound. The semantic confusion with Skt. आयुध should have arisen from the mistaken impression created by the shape of ஃ. There is no conceivable reason why the name and form of a 'trident' or आयुध should originally have been conferred upon this sound

[4] Cf. the observations made on pages 161-3 of vol. XXV of the Tamil journal செந்தமிழ் *Sendamiḻ*. An attempt is made in this article to establish a *rapprochement* between the Tamil term ஆய்தம் and either *âśrita* or *âyata* of Sanskrit.

[5] The article in *Sendamil* (referred to above) suggests that the original shape given to the symbol for *âydam* might not have been ஃ, but more allied to ः, the *visarga* symbol of Sanskrit.

(2) The fact that dots are used in Tamil and in Sanskrit need not necessarily disprove the *native origin* of the sound whose *secondary* character was probably fixed and recognised by Sanskrit-knowing Tamilians.

(3) This point again raises, if at all, only the *secondary* character of the sound in Tamil.

(4) The argument about 'prosodic lengthening' would not apply to instances of *mut't'râydam* like *ehgu*, which have no alternants.

(5) The resemblance between the *âydam* and the Sanskrit spirants can lead to no inference, in the absence of any direct evidence.

(6) The ancient Tamil grammarians who could well distinguish Sanskrit sounds from native ones, have nowhere referred to the *âydam* as a borrowing or as an 'invention.'

Apart from these arguments, there are certain other facts also which I shall urge here in favour of the native origin of this sound in Tamil. That the sound was not a common one in Dravidian admits of no doubt: but a discussion of the phonetic aspects of its growth with comparative reference to a similar development in the central Indian Dravidian dialect Gôṇḍi, would tend to show that the *âydam* was a native though secondary sound in Tamil. It is possible that recognition was given to it by Sanskrit-knowing scholars.

[D] WAS THE ÂYDAM A MERE ORAL FRICATIVE, OR DID IT INVOLVE AN ELEMENT OF THE GENUINE ASPIRATE, I.E., GLOTTAL FRICATIVE ALSO ?

(*a*) Nannûl describes the sound as being produced in the 'head' with an 'open mouth.' This description may apply to fricatives of the *velar*, *uvular* and *glottal* varieties alike. Whether the sound was originally a genuine glottal sound is not made clear by the description in Nannûl. We learn, however, one fact from these references to 'the head' and 'the open mouth,' and this is that the sound so described could not possibly have been labial, dental or palatal. It is clear therefore that at the time of the composition of Nannûl, the sound should have been either an aspirate or a back fricative of the velar or uvular type.

(*b*) Caldwell, Vinson (who calls the sound an 'aspiration gutturale') and Mr. Pillay regard the sound as a genuine aspirate. The modern value of the spirantic *g* when texts are read is (as Mr. Pillay has observed) probably only due to the characteristic modern tendency of giving the velar fricative value to intervocal aspirates, as shown for instance by the Tamilian pronunciation of Skt. *muhûrtam* as *mugûrtam*, the intervocal *-h-* being evaluated as a velar fricative.

(*c*) Mr. Sastri would consider the sound to be a fricative, whose value may be labial, dental, palatal or velar according to the character of the immediately following surd. He is of opinion that the velar value given to it today when texts are read is a 'mistake.' The description given in the Nannûl and the uniformly velar value given to it today would show that no such 'mistake' could have crept in after the time of Nannûl. In the absence of evidence to show that there was really a 'mistake,' we have to regard the sound as a 'back' sound originally, whose exact value (i.e., whether it was only velar or whether it was glottal) has to be determined by a consideration of other factors.

The analogy pointed out to the *jihvâmûlîya* and *upadhmânîya* sounds of Sanskrit leads to nothing conclusive. For one thing, we have no evidence to prove that the Tamil sound was copied from these. Secondly, these Sanskrit sounds, 'grammatical abstractions' themselves (as Whitney puts it), probably had an aspirate value also beside the fricative values depending upon the immediately following surds; vide §§ 69 and 170 (d), Whitney's *Gr.*

The velar fricative value given uniformly to the *âydam* today, whatever the value of the surd concerned may be, taken along with the description given by Nannûl would point to the value of the sound having shared a common aspirate element from a very early stage.

This fact is, in my opinion, confirmed by (a) the phonetic features attending the production of the sound in Tamil, and (b) the existence in Gôṇḍî of a parallel secondary growth of a genuine aspirate.

[E] PHONETIC PROCESSES INVOLVED IN THE PRODUCTION OF THE ÂYDAM.

We have already seen that the voiceless mouth-fricatives (involving a wide separation of the vocal chords) and the genuine glottal aspirate are very closely related, and that the former may easily change into the latter (through the incorporation of the breath-current from the glottal region) in circumstances favouring the tendency to confer upon the mouth-fricatives an individuality and stability. We have seen above that the production of the secondary aspirate in different instances of different Dravidian dialects always involves a mouth-fricative stage.

So far as the Tamil *âydam* is concerned, let us note that—

(*a*) it occurs after short initial syllables only ;

(*b*) it crops up before surds only ;

(*c*) it is accompanied by a certain degree of higher accent in the syllable of which it forms part, as Vinson has observed when he remarks that a definitely trochaic or spondaic value is given to words containing the *âydam*.

These facts are of particular significance in the explanation of the phonetic processes involved :—

(i) The initial generation (under the influence of accent) of an unstable mouth-fricative corresponding to the surd and immediately before this surd.

(ii) The conversion of this mouth-fricative into the aspirate as a result of the tendency (under the influence of the strong accent) to stabilise the mouth-fricative, whatever its original value may have been, i.e., whether it was [F] before *-p*, or [θ] before *-t*, or [ç] before *-c*, or [x] before *-k*.

[A] We shall take up the typical instance of அஃது, *ahdu* (that). The common form of the word is *adu* ; but where it is accented in the first syllable as in *aḥtaḍuppu* (*that* is an oven), etc., the approach to the surd *-t* generates initially a corresponding mouth-fricative [θ] immediately before *-t*, which [θ] under the influence of the accent assumes a secondary aspirate value through the incorporation of a current of breath issuing through the widely separated vocal chords.

It would be interesting in this connection to note that the structure of ancient disyllabic bases of Tamil is intimately connected with the *mâtras* of the several sounds, and with accent generally. Bases with short vowels in radical positions followed by geminated consonants or consonant groups have only a short enunciative vowel [ɯ] at the end. This sound decribed as குற்றியலுகரம் *kut't'riyalugaram* by the Tamil grammarians has only the value of a half *mâtrâ*. The instances of *mut t'râydam* given above come directly in this class ; for the terminal vowel has been described by the grammarians themselves as the short enunciative [ɯ]. In cases where the radical vowel, though short, is followed by a single consonant, the terminal vowel is not the enunciative *kut't'riyalugaram* [ɯ], but the full [u] described as *mut't'riyalugaram*. When the radical vowel is long in old elementary Tamil bases, the immediately following consonant is single, and the final vocalic sound is only [ɯ].

kaṭṭɯ (to join, attach together)	→ *kaṭ* + *ṭɯ*
eḥkɯ (steel)	→ *eh* + *kɯ*
âḍɯ (goat)	→ *â* + *ḍɯ*
paḍu (to fall)	→ *paḍ* + [*u*]

The distinct individuality of the *âydam* is thus made clear.

According to *sûtras* 424 and 425 of *Eḻuttadigâram* of Tolkâppiyam, the ancient Tamil grammar, அஃது *aḥdu*, இஃது *iḥdu* and உஃது *uḥdu* " retain " the *âydam* only if they are followed by words with initial vowels, e.g., அஃதாடை *aḥdâḍai*, whereas when the next word begins with a consonant, the *âydam* " is dropped," e.g., *adu pâl*.

Further, அஃது is employed with the *âydam* in expressions like அஃதே *aḥdê* (indeed ! all right !) carrying with them a certain amount of accent.

We have to remember that *adu, aḥdu, idu, iḥdu*, etc., are derived from demonstrative particles *a, i*, etc. These demonstrative particles in Tamil appear in certain contexts combined with *-v-*; but the original particles were undoubtedly devoid of *-v-*. When these original particles (in their short condition) combine with a word having a voiceless consonant initially, the *âydam* is generated immediately before the voiceless consonant, as in *a* + *kaḍiya* > *aḥkaḍiya*.

These facts directly show that the production of the *âydam* was connected with the distribution of the accent. When the accent is thrown straight upon the syllable containing the *short* demonstrative and the immediately following plosive, the *âydam* is generated. All such instances are associated with *sandhi* where the meaning leads necessarily to the association of accent with the syllable mentioned above. In *aḥt(d)ûr* (that is the village), etc., the accent falls on the syllable containing original *a* and *t*, consequent upon the intimate merging of *at(d)*- and *ûr*, whereas when this merging is impossible, in cases like *adu kaḍidu* (that is hard), the higher accent fails to be associated with *ad-* or original *at-*, and hence no *âydam* appears. In *aḥdê* (indeed ! all right !) the higher accent is obvious from the meaning. In *aḥkaḍiya*, the merging is complete because of the absence of *-t*, and therefore the higher accent falls on *a-k*, and the *âydam* is generated. It is therefore possible for us to infer that the demonstrative base *at-*, derived from an ancient demonstrative particle *a* and an original *-t*, gave rise to the accented form *aht-* in certain positions, while it was retained as *adu* (with the voicing of *-t-* to *-d-*) in unaccented positions.

[B] Other instances of what are commonly described as முற்றாய்தம், i.e., *âydam* that is *organic*, occur in the following Tamil words :—

aḥgu- (to be shortened, to pass away, to become closed or compressed as a flower) ;
aḥgam (food-grain) ;
eḥg- (to sift or scrutinise, to be unloosened, to lift, to climb) ;
eḥg-am (weapon, sharpness, etc.) ;
veḥg- (to desire ardently).

Julien Vinson observes in connection with these instances : *On a suggéré que, dans ces mots, le finale ne doit être qu'une dérivative, et que le ஃ est une mutation euphonique d'un l ou ḷ radical.* This would mean that the above instances were originally of the combinative type, and that the *âydam* was produced in connection with an original *l* or *ḷ* combining with *k*. It may be interesting to find out how far this suggestion is true of the above instances, though no definitiveness may be possible in our analysis of these instances.

aḥgu (to be shortened, etc.) has been compared by the Tamil Lexicon to *alku* or *algu* with the meaning ' to be shortened.' In view of the fact that the deictic particle could, as usual in Dravidian, combine with various affix-morphemes of Dravidian and produce different deictic meanings, it is not clear whether there was at all any relationship in structure between *algu-* and *aḥgu-*. The Kannaḍa cognate *akkuḍisu* with the same meaning furnishes no clue to this problem.

aḥgam (grain) has been compared by the Tamil Lexicon to Skt. *argha* ; but we have in Dravidian itself a base *aṛ-* (to cut) from which Kannaḍa *akki* (through *arki*) and possibly Tamil *ariśi* (rice) have arisen. What may have been the relationship of *ark-* to *aḥgam*, is not clear.

veḥku (to desire ardently) is connected with the Dravidian base *vĕ-* (to be hot) which has produced numerous forms with the help of affixes. Here one does not see any absolute necessity to trace the form with the *âydam* to a base with final *-l* or *ḷ*, though one may conceivably connect it with *vêḷ* (to desire).

[C] Common instances of words with *âydam* in combinative positions are the following :—

kal+tîdu > *kaḥd'îdu* (the stone is bad)
muḷ+tîdu > *muḥḍîḍu* (the thorn is bad)
pal+tuḷi > *paḥd'uḷi* (many drops)
al+tiṇai > *aḥd'iṇai* (inferior group)

In the first three instances, alternatively we may have respectively also *kat't'rîdu*, *muṭṭîdu* and *pat't'ruḷi*. The following points are significant in connection with this combinative change :—

(*a*) The *âydam* appears only in connection with *l* or *ḷ*+the dental *t*. The surd involved is only the dental.

(*b*) The first word always has a short radical vowel; if this vowel is long, no change takes place (cf. *sûtras* 370 and 371 of *Eḻuttadigâram*, Tolkâppiyam), and not even the assimilative conversion happens, e.g., *pâl+tîdu* would be retained as *pâl tîdu* (the milk is bad).

The process whereby the *âydam* is generated is here again similar to that in *aḥtu*, *iḥtu* mentioned above. When the components merge into each other intimately, the higher accent falls on the syllable containing the surd (which becomes alveolar or retroflex on account of the influence of alveolar *l* or retroflex *ḷ*, as the case may be) and the *âydam* is generated through the intermediate stage of the mouth-fricative corresponding to alveolar *t'* or retroflex *ṭ*. The alternative forms *kat't'rîdu* and *muṭṭîdu* with geminated surds instead of the group *âydam*+surd, confirm the existence of the higher accent in this syllable. In *pâl tîdu*, there is no merging of the components in view of the long vowel in *pâl*; and, therefore, neither assimilation nor the generation of the *âydam* is possible.

[F] SECONDARY -H- OF GÔṆḌI IN CONNECTION WITH VOICELESS PLOSIVES.

(*a*) Gôṇḍî causative stems, formed with the affix *-t-* show a secondary *-h-*[6] immediately before *-t-* in instances like the following :

tirî- (to be turned round) ~ *tiriht-* or *tiruht-* (to cause to turn round).
varî- (to fear) ~ *variht-*, *varhut-*, *varist-* (to cause to fear, to frighten).
karî- (to learn) ~ *kareht-* (to teach);
mei- (to graze) ~ *meht-* (to cause to graze);
tind- (to eat) ~ *tiht-* (to feed);
uṇḍ- (to drink) ~ *uhṭ-* (to give to drink);
kaṛê (*ṅg*)- (to be shaken) ~ *kaṛhut-*, *kaṛuht-* (to shake).

[6] The alternative forms with *-s-* before *-t-* were explained by me as probably due to the influence of Indo-Âryan instances, like the so-called "reversion" of *h* > sibilant in *niṣkâma*, etc. Since *h* > *s* in Indo-Âryan is a rare change, and since the cases of "reversion" referred to above may not have involved a real 'change' at all, a better explanation for the alternative *-s-* of Gôṇḍî would be that here the fricative [θ] which we have postulated as an intermediate stage (in connection with *t*) in the production of the aspirate, changed into the sibilant in some cases, side by side with the conversion of [θ] to *-h-*. It is significant that there is *no* alternative *-s-* in connection with the aspirate appearing before the plural ending *-k* of Gôṇḍi words. [See below.]

All the above verbs are native Dravidian, with cognates in all the dialects. The causative affix *-t-* is also Dravidian, occurring as it does in certain contexts in Tamil, Malayâḷam, Kannaḍa and Kuruk͟h.

(*b*) The plurals of Gôṇḍî nouns, formed with *-k* (which apparently is an attenuated representative of *-kaḷ*, *-ka* of other Dravidian dialects), show a secondary *-ḥ-* immediately before *-k* in two sets of instances :—

(i) Nouns with final long vowels.

Singular.	Plural.
talâ (head)	*tclâḥk.*
tûṛî (girl)	*tûriḥk.*
pittê (bird)	*pittîḥk.*
dûdû (breast)	*dûdûḥk.*
sênô (old woman)	*sênôḥk.*

(ii) Nouns with final *-l*, *-n* or *-r* immediately preceded by long vowels.

Singular.	Plural.
nâr (village)	*nâḥk.*
rôn (house)	*rôḥk.*
miâr (daughter)	*miâḥk.*
sukkum (star)	*sukkuḥk.*
malôl (hare)	*malôḥk.*

Now let us see what processes of change may have been operative in these types.

In (*a*) the sound *-h-* appears before the surd *-t* which being the causative affix was syllabically associated with a certain degree of accent. A contributory factor may have been the length of the immediately preceding vowel (as in *karî* 'to learn') which presumably also involved a certain higher accent.

In (*b*) we have two sets of instances. In (*b*) (i) we find a long vowel (presumably accented judged by the length) + *-k*, resulting in *-ḥk*. In (*b*) (ii) *-l*, *-n* or *-r* (immediately preceded by long vowels usually) + *-k* gives rise to *-ḥk*.

If the process of change in these instances is the generation of a glottal fricative through the intermediate stage of a mouth-fricative corresponding to the surd involved, we have here a parallel to the change that has probably resulted in the production of the Tamil *âydam*.

(*a*) and (*b*) (i) may be compared to the Tamil *mut't'râydam* in *eḥk-*, *aḥtu*, etc. While in (*a*) the surd concerned is *-t*, in (*b*) the surd is *-k*.

(*b*) (ii) may be compared to the *âydam* of Tamil combinative group *kaḥt'îdu* where *-l+t* has resulted in the assimilation of the dental *t* to an alveolar, and in the production of *-h-* immediately before the alveolar.

The features of resemblance are very striking :—

(1) In both Tamil and Gôṇḍî, the aspirate occurs in connection with surds only ; while in Gôṇḍi the surds involved in the instances available for us are *t* and *k*, in Tamil all grammatical surds are concerned.

(2) In both Gôṇḍî and Tamil, the syllable containing the surd appears to carry with it a certain degree of accent (as a result either of semantic or mechanical reasons). In Gôṇḍî this higher accent is attested in (*a*) above by both the long vowel usually preceding the

causative affix and by the causative syllable itself, which bears a higher degree of psychological importance, and in (*b*) above by the length of the *final* vowel or of the vowel immediately preceding final *-l*, *-n* or *-r*.

So far as Tamil is concerned, the higher accent in *aḥdu*, etc., is attested by the peculiarly trochaic pronunciation of these forms; in combinative groups like *kaḥd'ïdu*, the same principle holds good and, in addition, the *combinative position* itself may lead to a certain extra accent.

The features of contrast between the Gôṇḍî and the Tamil instances are the following :—

(1) In Tamil the *âydam* evidences itself only in a few old words, while in Gôṇḍî, *-h-* actively appears in the living speech of today, regularly in certain circumstances in the plurals of nouns and causatives of verbs.

(2) In the second set of Tamil instances represented by *kaḥd'ïdu*, there is the assimilative conversion of the dental *-t-* to the alveolar under the influence of *-l-*, while in the Gôṇḍî instances referred to in (*b*) (ii) above, *-l*, *-n* or *-r* appears to have been absorbed in the process of the production of *-hk*.

Though the resemblances between the Tamil *âydam* and Gôṇḍî *-h-* in the above instances need not lead to the postulate of a common stage of change for these dialects, it is probable that they mirror a germinal trait of these two Dravidian dialects.

THE VIKRAMKHOL INSCRIPTION.

(SAMBALPUR DISTRICT.)

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

1. VIKRAMKHOL lies within the jurisdiction of police thana Jhârsûguḍâ in the district of Sambalpur, Bihar and Orissa. It is approachable from the small railway station Belpahâṛ on the main line of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. From Belpahâṛ one has to go four miles south-west to Grindola, and thence another four miles in the same direction to Vikramkhol. The road from Grindola crosses a corner of the Gangpur State. There is a village, Titliabahal, near the rock of Vikramkhol. The inscription is in a natural rock-shelter, six feet below the top. The rock is a rough sandstone. The rock-shelter is 115 feet in length and 27 feet 7 inches in height from the floor. It faces north-east.

2. The inscribed portion is about 35 feet by 7 feet. Some of the letters are sharply cut, but the incision-marks of the majority do not show sharp cutting. It seems that an iron chisel was not used. Some of the letters are partly cut and partly painted, while some letters are only in paint ; but the majority are completely cut. It is evident that all the letters were first painted before being incised, which was the method regularly employed in the period of Brâhmî inscriptions. The colour of the paint is red-ochre, with which we are familiar in the prehistoric and historic caves and cave-buildings in India. To take a continuous photograph of all the letters (incised and painted), the incised letters have been carefully coloured. I have also had impressions of the incised letters taken by the usual method, and photographs in four parts of the squeeze are reproduced on the accompanying plates, together with the complete view referred to above and sections of the continuous photograph on a larger scale where the letters are very clear. I have also had tracings made of the painted portions. All this material is now in the Patna Museum. The estampages and the tracings have been made by the Curator of the Museum, Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh. The photographs have been taken by the Patna Museum staff under the supervision of the Curator. The material has been collected under my direction.



K. P. J.

VIKRAMKHOL INSCRIPTION

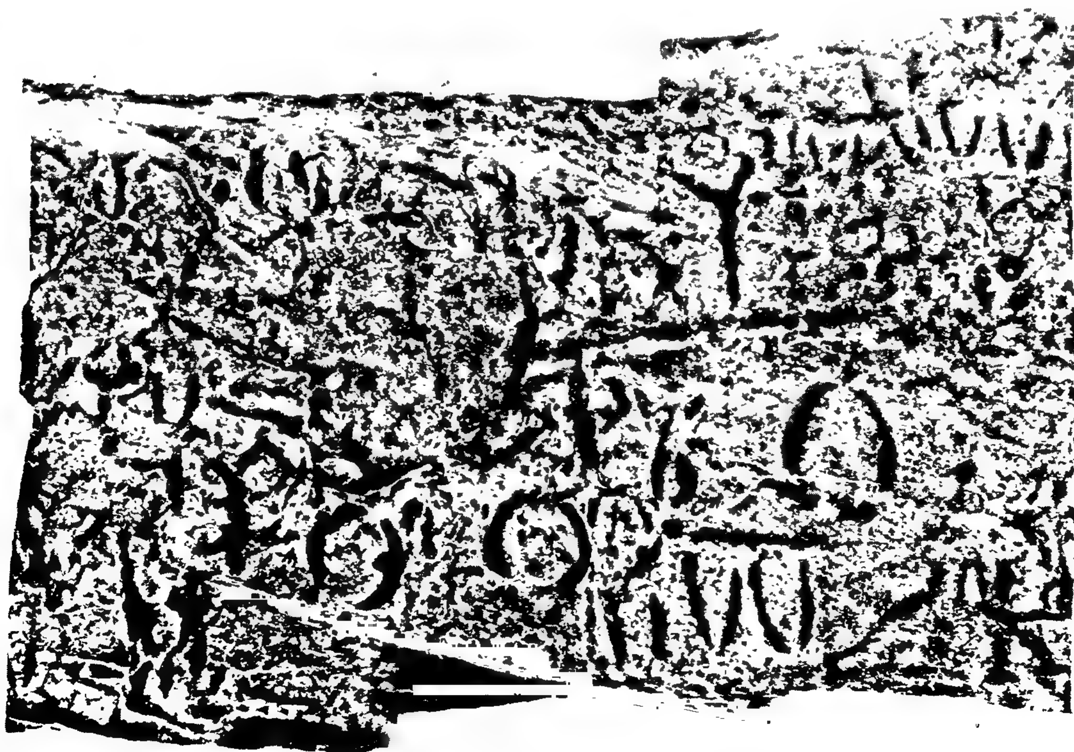
(District Sambalpur, Bihar and Orissa)

Plate 1. General view of the (inked) inscribed letters and symbols, taken from the north-east.



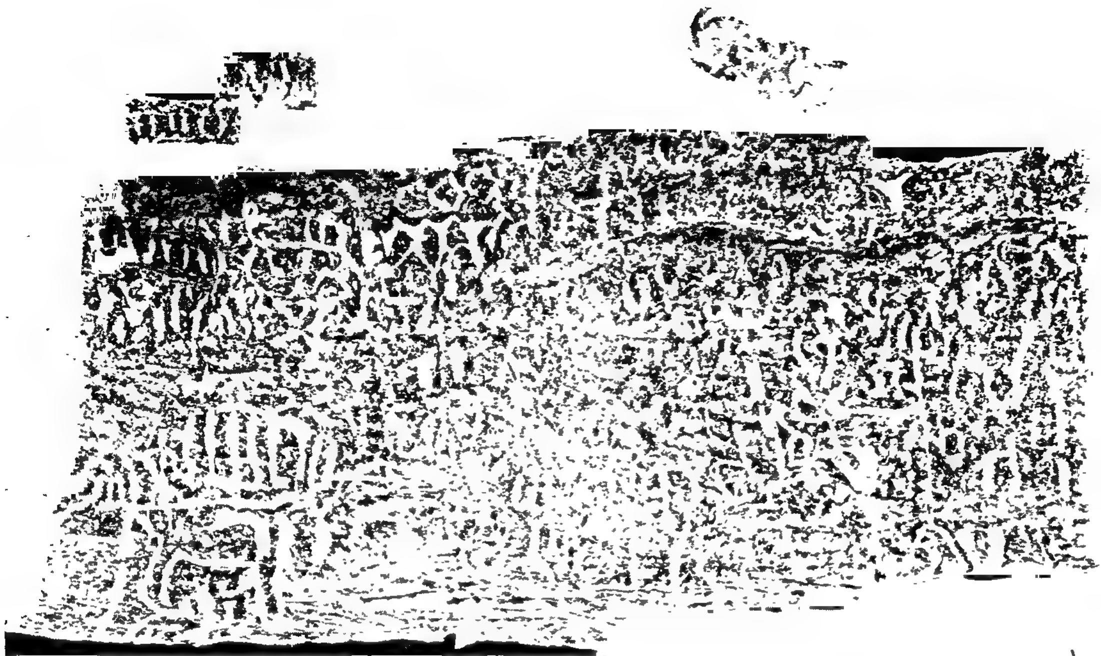
K. P. J.

Plate 2. Estampage of the inscription at Vikramkhol, 1st part, from the south-east.



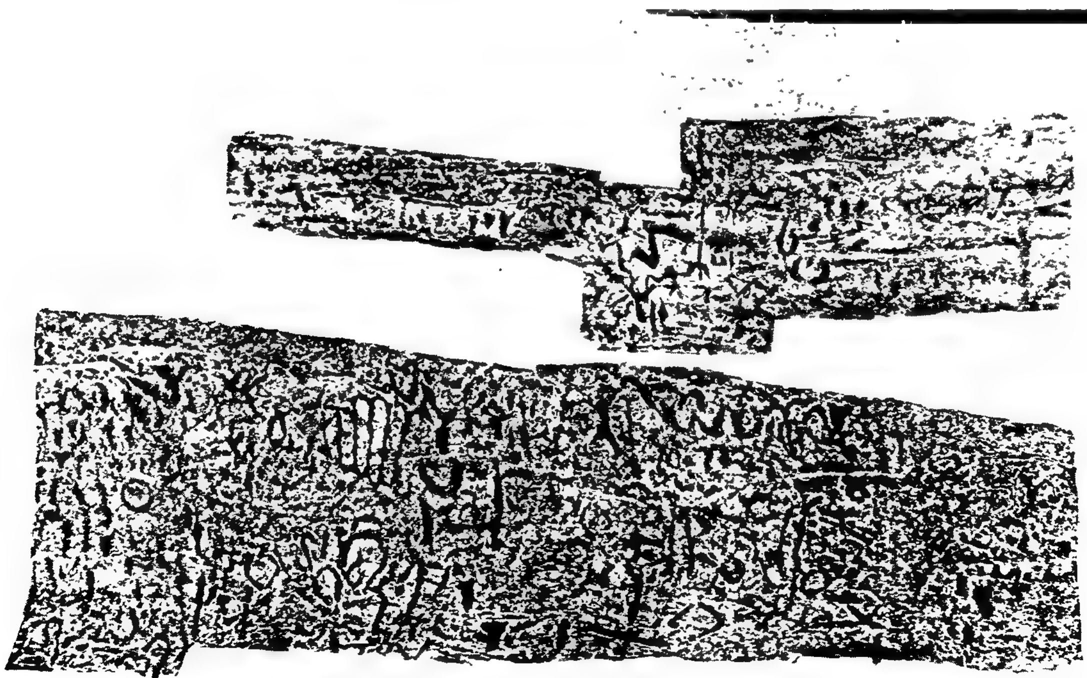
K. P. J.

Plate 3. Estampage of the inscription at Vikramkhol, 2nd part, from the south-east.



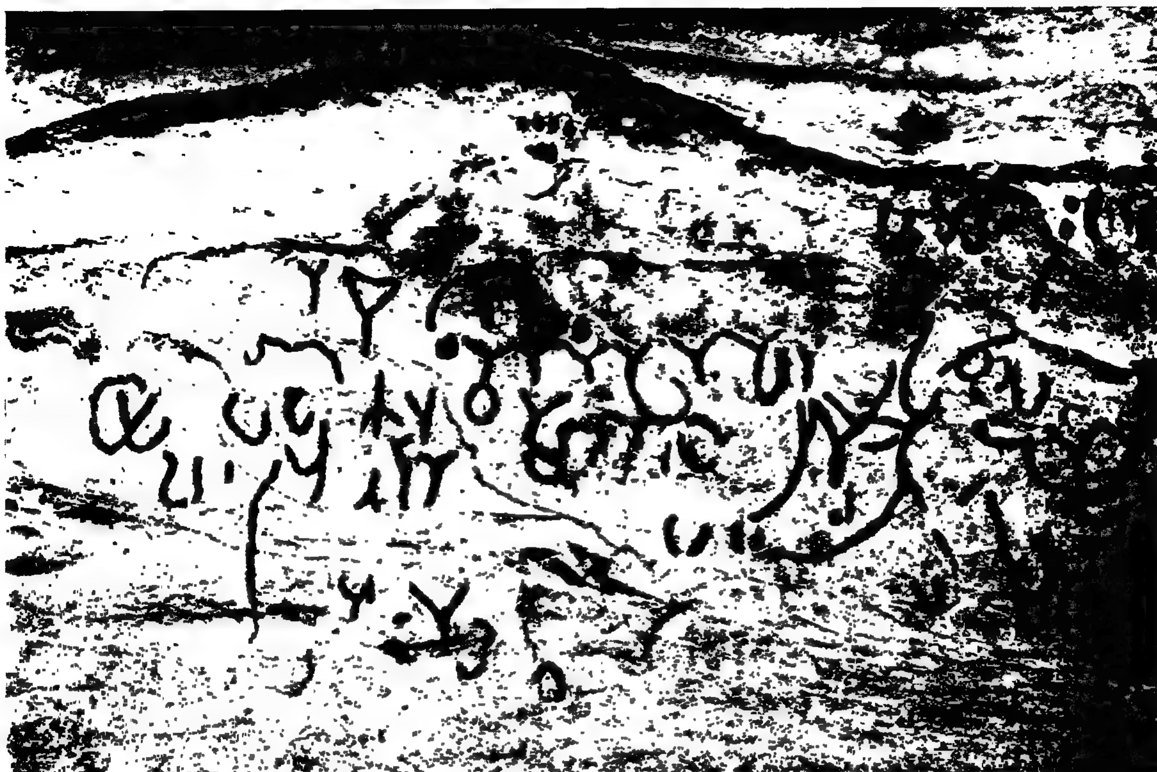
K. P. J.

Plate 4. Estampage of the inscription at Vikramkhol, 3rd part, from the south-east.



K. P. J.

Plate 5. Estampage of the inscription at Vikramkhol, 4th part, from the south-east.



K. P. J.

Plate 6. Vikramkhol inscription : detail view of (inked) inscribed letters and symbols, 1st part, from the south-east.



K. P. J.

Plate 7. Vikramkhol inscription : detail view of (inked) inscribed letters and symbols, 2nd part, from the south-east.



K. P. J.
Plate 8. Vikramkhol inscription : detail view of (inked) inscribed letters and symbols, 3rd part, from the south-east.



K. P. J.
Plate 9. Vikramkhol inscription : detail view of (inked) inscribed letters and symbols, 4th part, from the south-east.

3. The inscription was discovered by an educated Sâdhu, Svâmî Jnânânanda. Mr. Lochan Prosad Pandey, founder and secretary of the Mahâkosala Society of the Central Provinces, rendered valuable service by bringing it to our notice. At first I obtained an eye-copy of the letters, and since then scientific copies have been procured for the Patna Museum. I have to thank Mr. Senapati, Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, for the material help rendered to us in obtaining these copies.

4. An examination of the letters, which at first sight give the impression of having Brâhmî forms, showed that the writing was a mixture of Brâhmî forms and a developed type of the Mohenjodaro script. As the announcement of the discovery of the inscription and my opinion thereon has led to numerous inquiries, I hasten to publish the record for study by scholars, along with a few observations of my own, as set out below.

Conclusions.

5. The inscription is a writing: this cannot be doubted. My reasons for this conclusion are :—(*i*) The symbols were first carefully painted and then inscribed after the fashion of inscriptions, ; (*ii*) the writing is in regular lines (the lines are not always straight, owing partly to the very rough surface on which they are inscribed); (*iii*) the symbols have set forms, which disclose 'writing habits' in the phraseology of handwriting experts. The hand which first painted the letters was used to writing with a pen : this is evident from Plate 6.

6. The system knows the *bindu*, and also, probably, the *visarga*. Some letters have dots placed below them, while in some cases dots seem to give a discriminative value to the letters, as in Semitic writing.

7. The right-hand corner top line on Plate 8, where the same symbol is repeated more than once, may point to the employment of numerals.

8. There is an animal figure which is probably not a part of the writing, but a symbol. There is, however, one symbol like a bellows placed side-ways, which recurs.

9. The writing seems to me to be from right to left (see, particularly, Plate 6).

10. It is evident that some of the letters disclose accentuation. Repetition of the same letter twice probably suggests consonantal duplication or conjuncts.

11. The writing seems to have reached the syllabary (alphabetic) stage.

Comparison with Mohenjodaro Script.

12. The bellows-shaped letter above the animal figure may be compared with the Mohenjodaro letter No. 119 (vol. II, p. 440). The first letter (right-hand) in the top line on Plate 6 should be compared with Mohenjodaro No. 162, and the system of dots with the same system in series 175 (*ibid.*, p. 445).

13. The letter of the shape of the Brâhmî *g* may be compared with Mohenjodaro Nos. 100-102, 133, 144, 146 and 148. The shape of Mohenjodaro No. 133 is identical with the eighth letter of the second line in Plate 8.

14. The fourth letter in line 2, Plate 8, may be compared with Mohenjodaro 96 series. A variation of it is found in the seventh, or bottom, line at Vikramkhol.

15. The X shape of Vikramkhol should be compared with Nos. 98-99 of Mohenjodaro.

16. The circle-letter like the Brâhmî *th*, and the oval letters are noteworthy. They seem to be consonants on account of their repetition in one place. In Plate 7, the third letter after the animal (reading from left to right) is accentuated. It occurs in Plate 8 with two dots inside, resembling the Brâhmî *tha*. These shapes may be compared with Nos. 224 and 219 of Mohenjodaro. The form at Mohenjodaro is always oval.

17. The Y-shaped letter has a Kharoṣṭhi look; and so have a few more forms. But, on the whole, the theory of a proto-Kharoṣṭhi script is excluded, unless we assume that Brâhmî and Kharoṣṭhi had a common parentage.

18. I regret that I have not got sufficient time at my disposal at present to dive deeply into the matter and propose any reading. I present the problem for the consideration of scholars engaged in this field of study.

19. It seems that the theory I put forward in 1920 (*JBORS.*, vol. VI, p. 188 ff.), that Brâhmî is an indigenous Indian writing, receives confirmation from this find, for its letters are nearer Brâhmî than any other script. In that paper I also pointed out a very probable connection between Brâhmî and the writing on the Harappa seals.[1]

The Vikramkhol inscription supplies a link between the passage of letter-forms from the Mohenjodaro script to Brâhmî. The Vikramkhol record, however, need not necessarily be an Aryan piece of writing.[2]

Age of the Inscription.

20. Now, what would be the approximate age of the Vikramkhol inscription? The writing is certainly earlier than the earliest specimen of Brâhmî known so far; and Brâhmî was completed before 1500 B.C.[3] We would be within the range of a fair approximation in dating it about 1500 B.C.

1 "There is the Cairn writing in the South but in the North there is a vast gap between 1500 B.C. and the sixth century B.C. to be filled up by positive evidence. A link seems to be found in the Harappa seals, one of which was published by Cunningham, who maintained that it contained the origin of Brâhmî. Two more seals in the same characters were published by the late Dr. Fleet (*JRAS.*, 1912). The readings of two of these seal legends have been suggested by Cunningham and Fleet (*JRAS.*, p. 699), and of the third one by me (*IA.*, 1913, p. 203). It seems to me that it is possible to solve them in the near future, especially with our increasing knowledge of pre-Mauryan letters and with an increased number of Harappa seals. Sir John Marshall has got a few more of these seals which he has kindly promised to lend me for study. Letters from the photograph of two of them are reproduced in the chart with the permission of Sir John. Three things are certain about these seals. One of the legends ('C') of Fleet shows that it was intended to be read from left to right as the legend does not cover the whole space, and its beginning and end are distinguishable. The script has the Hindu system of using abbreviated forms of letters, for one letter which appears in full in one seal ('A' of Fleet) appears as abbreviated, either as a *mâtrâ* or as a conjoint consonant, in two places (in 'A' and 'B'). Then there is a ligature where *v* is joined to *y* or some other letter. That the characters are not a syllabary is seen by the addition on the head of one letter (in 'C') which appears without it in another place ('A'). The addition is evidently a *mâtrâ*, probably an *a* in a stage when it is fully represented; it is separate from the letter on the top of which it is placed. The characteristics therefore seem to be those of the Brâhmî, but the letters are so old that they are not yet fully recognized. In the new seals we have a letter which is almost unmistakably *a*, and the form is such that the oldest Semitic and Brâhmî forms for *a* are derivable from it [the whole legend I tentatively read as *Abhayah....*]."—*JBORS.*, VI (1920), pp. 199-200.

2 The locality, according to the Purâṇic race-history, would suggest the record to be a pre-Dravidian '*Râkṣasa*,' record. *Râkṣasa* is the generic name for the race dispossessed by the Aryans. They extended up to the Indian Archipelago. [*Nâga* was probably a sub-division of theirs.] The Goṇds are their remnants.

3 I have set forth in some detail my reasons for coming to this conclusion in *JBORS.*, vol. VI (1920), p. 198, to which reference is invited.

THE GAṆḌÎSTOTRA.

BY E. H. JOHNSTON, M.A.

AMONG the minor Buddhist works which have been brought to light by modern research few are more interesting than the *Gaṇḍîstotra*, the Sanskrit text of which was recovered by Baron A. von Stael-Holstein from a transcription into Chinese characters with the help of a Tibetan translation and published in *Bibliotheca Buddhica* XV in 1913. The reconstitution of the poem from such scanty materials raised a number of troublesome problems, the great majority of which were successfully solved by the editor's skill and acumen; and the full apparatus provided by him smoothes the way for others who have the advantage of starting where he left off. So far as I can ascertain, the text has not been critically considered by other students, who have perhaps been put off by a valuable introduction and notes being written in a language so little known generally as Russian, and it seems, therefore, worth while publishing my results. My emendations are in the direction of bringing the readings into closer accord with the Chinese transcription and the Tibetan translation, but in view of their number it is easiest to make them intelligible by printing a fresh version of the original. As the poem has never been translated, I add a fairly literal rendering into English; this procedure has the further advantages of emphasizing the weak and doubtful places of the text and of enabling me to cut down the bulk of the notes.

A few introductory remarks are necessary. The Chinese transcription, which I call C, is published as No. 1683 in the Taisho Issaikyo edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka under the name of *Chien-Chih-Fan-Tsan*. Chien-Chih (i.e., *gaṇḍî* transliterated) is spelt, wrongly probably, in the *Bibl. Buddh.* edition Chien-Ch'ui, the difference between the two characters (Giles, no. 1871 and 2823) being only the short cross stroke which is added to radical 75 to make it radical 115. I follow C in omitting the word *gâthâ* in the title, which appears to be an unauthorised addition by the Tibetan. The transliteration was executed by Fa T'ien, whose name was later altered to Fa Hsien, a monk of Nâlandâ, who worked in China in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. It was intended for ceremonial recitation, for which purpose an absolutely accurate text was not apparently thought essential. Study of C shows a number of mistakes which could only proceed from the use of a faulty Sanskrit MS. and which might, one would think, have been easily corrected by anyone with an elementary knowledge of that language. These errors are of a type occurring in mediæval Nepalese MSS. of, say, the eleventh and twelfth centuries, such as the confusion of *dha*, *ba* and *va*, which disfigures almost every verse, of *pa* and *ya*, of *su* and *sta*, of *kṣa* and *ṣa*, etc., so that, when C is at fault, we are entitled to try anything which we might expect to find in corresponding Nepalese MSS. The Tibetan translation, which I call T, is as literal as usual, but not always easy to turn back into Sanskrit; and I therefore give the Tibetan in the variants where the restoration is not certain. The editor's own readings and views I quote under the letter H, but I have not adopted his numbering of each *pâda* consecutively; his notes follow this numbering and contain some conjectures by other scholars.

The editor follows T in attributing the verses to Aśvaghoṣa, giving as additional reasons the tradition connecting that poet with a *gaṇḍî* (a long piece of wood struck with a wooden pestle to summon the monks, which for lack of an English equivalent I call a gong) and the similarity of the style to that of a verse given to him in the *Kavîndravacanasamuccaya*. These grounds in themselves have little force, and the ascription is not followed by C or even considered worth mention by the editors of *Hobogirin* in the *Fascicule Annexe*. The verse in the anthology is written in a style entirely different to that of Aśvaghoṣa, of whom enough is preserved to enable us to form a clear conception of his poetic methods, and the Chinese and Tibetan translations attribute works to him almost at random. Nor can I see much in the *Gaṇḍîstotra* which reminds me of him. Many of the words in it are not to be found

in his genuine poems and the language and style in general seem to me quite certainly to belong to a later epoch. The preoccupation with sound in preference to sense is also symptomatic of lateness and I miss the closely packed construction and the carefully arranged balance which is so characteristic of Aśvaghoṣa. Further the latter's affection for similes is not to be found here and it looks as if the one elaborate comparison, that in verse 12, is an attempt to improve on *Raghuvaṁśa*, vi, 85. Confrontation of the passages of this poem describing Mâra's temptation with canto xiii of the *Buddhacarita* will make these points clear. It will be noted that verse 20 refers to Kashmîr, showing that the poem was written there; that T omits the name is not sufficient reason for doubting the reconstruction of it from C, since we know from the *Sragdharâstotra*, a work of the eighth century and in a style which seems to be later than that of the *Gaṇḍîstotra*, that this form of composition was practised there. Aśvaghoṣa is described in the colophons of his two epics as belonging to Sâketa, though there is a tradition that he went to live in Kashmîr. If we could have held that the poem was his, this would have been admirable corroboration of the tradition, but, as it is, in the absence of any cogent evidence I conclude on subjective grounds that the poem, so far from being from his hand, is of a date posterior by some centuries to him and is not necessarily all by the same hand or of the same date.

In the translation I have only used asterisks to show the sounds of the gong, which in some of the earlier verses drown the words. These sounds are represented in a way evidently intended to suggest the mood of the words obliterated by them and probably reproduce the various methods in which the gong could be struck, like the sounds which the *Bhâratîya Nâṭyaśâstra* uses for beating a drum. The variants given omit unimportant errors in C but give H's reading wherever I have departed from his text.

गण्डीस्तोत्रम्, THE LAUDS OF THE GONG.

यः पूर्वं बोधिमूले रविगमनपथान्मार गागृङ्गगागृङ्-
गागागृङ्गागगागृङ्गनघघनघघृद् बद्धसंनद्धकक्षैः।
यः स्त्रीभिर्दिव्यरूपैर् दुदुपतिदुदुभिर्दूदुदूभिर्दुदूभिः
क्षोभं नैवानुयातः सुरनरनमितः पातु वः शाक्यसिंहः ॥ १ ॥

Var. *b*, °घृद् घद्ध° C; °ग्रेद् बद्ध°, T; °घृङ् बद्ध°, H.
c. दुदुपातिदुदुभिदुदूदुभिदुदुभिः, T.

1. The Lion of the Śâkyas, adored by gods and men, did not waver of yore beneath the Tree of Illumination before the . . . . of Mâra, as they, from the path where the sun travels, ... with their bodies girt in armour, or before the divine forms of women. . . . . May He protect you!

In *a* T takes *mâra* as the first part of *mârayata*, but nowhere else does the gong drown part of a word and despite the parallels quoted by H for the use of such expressions by the demons, it seems better to take it as the first word of a compound, the rest of which is obliterated. In *b* T either read *baddhasaṁnâhakakṣaiḥ* or else took *saṁnaddha* in the sense of *saṁnâha*. It renders *kakṣa* by *lus*, 'body,' and I translate accordingly. It might also mean, 'with their clothes tightly girt up.' But *kakṣâsaṁnâha* is used in *Bṛhatsaṁhitâ* (ed. Bombay, 1897), 94, 13 (in other editions 96, 4), for harnessing an elephant, and in accordance with the simile common in *kâvya* of lions defeating elephants we may possibly have to understand here that Mâra's followers are depicted as elephants conquered by the lion of the Śâkyas; if so, translate, 'with their girths tightly bound.'

यः कन्दर्पाङ्गनानां कहकहककहाहाहहीति प्रहासै-
र्यः स्फीताडम्बराणां तटिततटितटानाटिटीति प्रलापैः।

कुत्कुद्धुद्दुत्कुकूकिचत्कुरचिकुह्हरचित् किङ्कराणां च वाग्भि–
र्नोचस्तः सोऽस्तु सौम्यः स्रुतसकलमलः शान्तये वो मुनीन्द्रः ॥ २ ॥
Var. *d*, C omits मलः; श्रुतसकलमलः, T H.

2. The benign Chief of Sages from Whom all stain has vanished was not affrighted by the mockeries of the damsels of Kandarpa . . . . or by the ravings . . . and taunts of his menials inflated with arrogance. . . . may He lead you to peace!

Kuharacit which T treats as a sound of the gong is perhaps to be considered as a word; a name for Mâra? I do not understand T's reading in *d*. Jacobi ingeniously conjectured *śrutasakalakalaḥ* (surely 'learned in all sciences,' not 'hearing all those noises' as H suggests, *kala* being hardly applicable to such sounds).

भ्रूक्षेपापाङ्गभङ्गस्मरशरसलसत्पक्ष्मताराक्षिपातैः
प्रौढानङ्गाङ्गनानां ललितभुजलतालासलीलायिताङ्गैः ।
सव्रीडैः सास्मितोक्तैः कलमृदुमधुरामोदरम्यैर्वचोभि–
र्भ्रान्तं चेतो न चित्रैः स्मरबलजयिनो यस्य तस्मै नमोऽस्तु ॥ ३ ॥
Var. *b*, °लीलापताङ्गैः, C ;°लीलायदङ्गैः, H. *c*, सव्रीडासास्मि°, C.

3. The bold damsels of the disembodied god could not shake His mind with volleys of Smara's missiles, the movements of eyebrows, the curvings of the corners of the eyes and the play of eyelashes, eyes and pupils, or with bodies rejoicing in the waving of beauteous arm-creepers, or with pretty speeches, gentle, soft, sweet, charming, delightful and uttered with smiles and mock modesty. All hail to the Conqueror of the hosts of Smara!

Lîlâyitâ° is better Sanskrit and nearer C than *lîlâyad°*; as an adjective, it does not imply the past. T is against C's reading, which is too forced here. H's amendment in *c* accepted above, is doubtful; T reads the second word literally *sâkûtoktaiḥ*.

उर्वीं संचालयन्तः खरशरनिकरैश्छादयन्तोऽन्तरीक्षं
ज्वालाभिः क्रोधवह्नेर्ज्वलितदशदिशः क्षोभयन्तोऽम्बुराशिम् ।
हेलोत्खातासिचक्रक्रकचपटुरवारावितो मारवीरा
मैत्रीशस्त्रेण येन प्रसभमभिजिताः पातु वोऽसौ मुनीन्द्रः ॥ ४ ॥
Var. *a*, °निकरैस्थादयन्तो (! for °निकरैस्थोडयन्तो), C.

4. Though the warriors of Mâra shook the earth and veiled the sky with showers of sharp arrows, though they made the ocean boil and the quarters blaze with the flames of the fire of their wrath, though they filled the air with the shrill whistlings of the swords, discs and saws they brandished so easily, yet the Chief of Sages overthrew them straightway with the weapon of Universal Benevolence. May He protect you!

In *c*, alternatively, 'though their harsh clamour resounded, as they lightly drew, etc.'

विस्फूर्जज्जातकोपं प्रकटितविकटास्फोटनिर्घोषघोरं
गर्जज्जीमूतजालप्रकटगजघटाटोपबद्धान्धकारम् ।
संदर्पोद्दामवह्निस्फुरदसिकिरणोद्भासिताशेषबिम्बं
पुष्पेषोः सैन्यमुच्चैर्झटिति विघटितं येन बुद्धः स वोऽव्यात् ॥ ५ ॥
Var. C, कन्दर्पोद्दाम°, T. शेषविश्वं, T.

5. The host of the god of the flower-arrows roared with rage, creating fearsome noises by awe-inspiring slappings of limbs; they brought on darkness with the swelling of the temples of their elephants, as with masses of thundering clouds; the entire welkin was illumined with the flashing of swords, which gleamed with the uncontrolled fires of insolence. May the Buddha, by Whom they were undone in a moment, guard you!

Âsphoṭa refers to the slappings of arms and thighs, still practised in India before a fight by wrestlers and bravoes to frighten their opponents; cf. *MBh.* (Calc. ed.), iii, 11130-1. H under 13*b* (p. 124) takes it to mean 'shivering.' He translates *âṭopa* here 'multitude,' but cf. *Uvâsagadasâo* (ed. Hoernle), p. 58, *ukkaḍaphuḍakuḍilajaḍilakakkasaviyaḍaphuḍâḍovakaraṇadaccham*, 'skilled at making its hood swell large, etc.'

दिव्यैराकर्णपूरैः कमलदलनिभैः पक्ष्मलीलाविलोलै—
र्भावास्निग्धैर्विदग्धैः प्रचलितललितैः सस्मितैर्भ्रूविलासैः ।
नेत्रैर्माराङ्गनानां परिगतरभसैर्लोहितान्तैरशान्तै—
र्नाकृष्टः सर्वथा यस्तमहमृषिवरं वान्तदोषं नमामि ॥ ६ ॥

Var. *b*, *śin-tu chags-pas* (तावत्स्निग्धैः ?) T. *rab-tu rnam-rgyas mthun-pa daṅ bcas* (प्रवितत...सम्मितैः ?), T.

6. The divine eyes of Mâra's damsels, stretching to their ears like petals of the blue lotus and rolling behind flickering eyelashes, appeared soft with emotion, artful, and charming with twinklings and smiles and with the movements of eyebrows; they were restless and reddened at the ends in the fullness of their longings. Yet the most excellent Seer, Who had cast out all sin, was in no way attracted by them. To Him I do obeisance.

H divides *âkarṇapûraiḥ* into *â* and *karṇapûra*; I follow T in dividing into *âkarṇa* and *pûra*, but of course the author also means to suggest that the eyes take the place of the blue lotuses stuck in the ears as ornaments. The use of *rabhasa* for 'longing,' 'sexual desire,' which is corroborated by T, is late (e.g., *Gîtâgovinda*, *Kathâsaritsâgara*, *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*).

नोद्भ्रान्तं यस्य चित्तं स्फुटविकटसटैः संकटैर्लोलजिह्वै—
र्मारैः शूलाग्रहस्तैर्गजतुरगमुखैः सिंहशार्दूलवक्त्रैः ।
प्रद्युम्नः कामदेवस्तृणवदगणितो येन संसारभीरुः
संबुद्धः पातु युष्मान्व्यपगतकलुषो लोकनाथो मुनीन्द्रः ॥ ७ ॥

7. His mind was not bewildered by the close-set ranks of Mâra, armed though they were with spears and displaying awe-inspiring coils of hair and protruding tongues, with the faces of elephants and horses or the masks of lions and tigers. Afraid only of the cycle of existence, He recked no more of Pradyumna, the god of Love, than of a blade of grass. May He, from Whom all impurity has passed away, the All-Enlightened, the Lord of the World, the Chief of Sages, protect you!

This verse seems to be an alternative (and later ?) version of the next verse, whose third line is faulty by making it appear that the epithets *sarvavid vîtarâgaḥ* apply to Kâmadeva. The legend that Kâma was reborn as Pradyumna is late and is not mentioned in the *MBh.*; for details see the *Bhâg. Pur.*

अक्षोभ्या यस्य बुद्धिर्धरणिनगनदीः सागराम्भो धरद्भि—
र्गर्जद्भिर्मारवीरैर्विविधशतमुखैर्घोररूपैरनन्तैः ।
येनासौ पुष्पकेतुस्तृणवदगणितः सर्वविद्वीतरागः
स श्रीमान्बुद्धवीरः कलुषभयहरः पातु वो निर्विकारः ॥ ८ ॥

Var. *a*, *chu-boḥi gluṅ* (°नदनदीः ?), T.

8. He did not falter from his intent, when the innumerable bellowing warriors of Mâra in terrifying shapes with a hundred varied faces armed themselves with the earth, mountains, rivers, the ocean itself. All-knowing and passionless, He recked no more of the flower-bannered god than of a blade of grass. May the Enlightened Hero, the Incarnation of Majesty, Who is free from all perturbation of soul and dispels the danger of impurity, protect you!

मारानीकैर्महौघैरसिपरशुधनुःशक्तिशूलाग्रहस्तै-
रुल्कापातैरनेकैर्दहनपटुरवैर्भीषणैर्भीमनादैः ।
न क्षुब्धं यस्य चित्तं गिरिरिव न चलं गाढपर्यङ्कबद्धं
तं वन्दे वन्दनीयं त्रिभवभयहरं बुद्धवीरं सुवीरम् ॥ ९ ॥

9. As He sat firmly fixed in transic wise, His mind was immovable as a mountain and was not disquieted by the great hordes of Mâra's troops with swords, axes, bows, harpoons and spears in their hands, or by the many fearsome firebrands which fell with terrifying crashes and fierce crackling of flames. I worship the Worshipful, Enlightened Hero, the Valiant One, Who dispels the dangers of the threefold universe.

उच्चैरट्टहासैः प्रकटपटुतटाबद्धघण्टा रणन्तः
साटोपास्फोटटङ्काः स्फुटजटिलजटैः किंकराः कोटराक्षैः ।
भङ्गं कर्तुं न शक्ताः पटुपटहपटुस्फालना यस्य बोधौ
तृप्तानां गृध्रकूटे पटुपटहपटुः स्वस्तु वो बुद्धवीरः ॥ १० ॥

Var. *a*, °तटाबन्ध°, CH ; *myur-bar-bciṅs-paḥi* (°जवाबद्ध°), T. °घण्टै, H. रणन्तं, C; रणाद्भिः, H. *b*, °टङ्कस्फुट°, H. किंकरैः, H. *c*, भग्नं, CH. शक्ता, H. d, हृप्तानां, TH.

10. The menials (of Mâra) could make no breach in His Enlightenment ; yet the bells hanging from their sides shrilled loudly to the accompaniment of roars of maniacal laughter, their hollow eyes gleamed through their tangled locks in the frenzy of their stretchings and slappings of limbs, and their harsh drums throbbed loudly. May the Enlightened Hero, Who is as alert as a drum is clear in sound, be for the well being of you, whose desires have been completely satisfied on the Vulture Peak !

A difficult verse, and H has made it more so by taking °*sphâlanâ* as nom. sing. f. and subject of the relative clause. Besides the improbability of this form, he has to alter to the instrumental case a number of words shown by C and T to be in the nominative ; C makes no distinction between *a*, *â* and *âḥ* at the end of a word. I take *kiṁkarâḥ* as the subject of the relative clause, qualified by adjectival compounds on which the instrumentals depend. The emendation of *raṇantaṁ* to *raṇantaḥ* is trivial and supported by T. H thinks *taṭâbandha* may be a musical term, explaining T's *myur-ba* (for *taṭa*) by S. C. Das's *myur-baḥi-ḥbru* meaning a particular note of music. Presumably one would have to take it to the root *taṭ*, ' make a rumbling, droning noise.' But T clearly reads ° *baddha* °; *taṭa*, ' side ' is difficult, but I see no alternative. In *b* T takes *âṭopa* (*bsgyiṅs-pa*) as equivalent to *vijṛmbhita*. *Ṭaṅka* is only known in this sense from the lexica and T evidently had *bhaṅgaṁ* (*ḥjoms-pa*), not *bhagnaṁ*, which is difficult, unless taken as a substantive. I can make no sense of T's *dṛptânâṁ* ; *tṛpta*=*vîtarâga*, a reasonable extension of meaning from its use at *Saundarananda*, iii, 34, and vii, 20. *Sv astu* ought to take the dative ; the only parallel for the genitive is the use once of *svasti* thus in the *Râmâyaṇa* quoted by Böhtlingh and Roth. But I do not see how *tṛptânâm* is to be construed, except in agreement with *vaḥ*, which must thus be in the genitive ; if the two are separate, *tṛptânâm* would have to depend on *paṭupaṭaha-paṭuḥ* which is hardly possible. In the later Mahâyâna sûtras the Vulture Peak is the regular site for the Buddha's mystic séances and preachings. A good instance, showing the lateness of the idea, is in the *Kâśyapaparivarta*. The earliest Chinese translation (second century A.D.) gives the venue as Śrâvastî, but the later translations, like the existing Sanskrit version, alter this to the Vulture Peak. This suggests that *tṛpta* can be understood to refer to the desires of hearing the Buddha preach as having been satisfied ; cf. *Saddharmapuṇḍarîka*, ix, 17, *Tṛptâ sma . . . śrutvâ vyâkaraṇaṁ idam.*

कोकखण्डंरामरखण्डं प्रतिभयकुहरं दर्पखाडंरखाड-
खडम्बखिडम्बखडडिम्बखडुहडुहकडुहंस्तङ्कनस्तङ्कनस्तम् ।

फ्त्रडिम्फ्त्रड्म्फमिभ्रह्मुखमुखुखुमाहुः खुमाहुः खुमहुः
एभिर्ध्वानैर्न भीतः सुरनरनामितः पातु वः शाक्यसिंहः ॥ ११ ॥

11. . . . . with grim noises, wantonness . . . weapons . . . . by such sounds was the Lion of the Śâkyas, adored by gods and men, not terrified. May He protect you!

Amend to ***khumaṅkhur ebhir*** in *cd* ?

यं माराकारधाराधरसमयसमारम्भसंरम्भमुक्तं
नक्तं नाङ्गाङ्गनानां मुखकमलवनश्रीविपक्षैकपक्षा ।
सम्यक् संबोधिलक्ष्मीः शशिनमिव शरत्कौमुदी संप्रपेदे
तस्येयं धर्मदूती ध्वनति भगवतो धर्मराजस्य गण्डी ॥ १२ ॥

Var. *a*, माराचार°, C; माराङ्गार°, H.

12. As autumnal brilliance, in that fortnight which is the enemy of the beauty of the blue lotus beds, comes at night to the moon, when it is delivered from the fury of the cloudy season's assault, so the Majesty of Perfect Enlightenment, the best of allies and enemy of the beauty of the lotus-faces of the disembodied god's damsels, came that night to Him when He was delivered from the fury of Mâra's assaults. Such is the Holy King of the Law, the message of whose Law is sounded by this gong.

H's conjecture in *a* is impossible. T omits the word, which was therefore one of no importance; my suggestion meets this point and is satisfactory palæographically. This use of *âkâra*, which recurs in verse 20, suggests a latish date for the poem. *Kaumudî* here means both 'moonshine' and the 'full-moon day of Aśvin.' H takes *vipakṣa* to mean 'victor,' for which there is no authority; the standard meaning is 'opponent' (*mi-mthun*=*pratikûla*, T) and possibly in the simile it ought to mean also 'the day in which the moon passes from one fortnight to another.' But I cannot work this in. In the main sentence I divide *°vipakṣâ ekapakṣâ*, the latter word recalling the common use of *eka* in the inscriptions; in the simile I regard it as a single compound. *Nâṅga* for *Anaṅga* is noteworthy, as also the imperfect cæsura at the fourteenth syllable of *a*.

निघ्नन्नप्राप्ततृप्तिः क्षणमपि विचरत्यन्तकोऽयं दुरन्त-
स्तन्निक्षिप्तान्यचित्ताकुरुत सुचरितेष्वादरं सर्वकालम् ।
इत्थं रत्नत्रयाज्ञामिव वहति मुहुः प्राणिनो यस्य शैक्षा-
यैषा मन्दायमानप्रथितमुखरादिग्मण्डला धर्मगण्डी ॥ १३ ॥

Var. *a*. *riṅ-po-nas* (दूरतः), T. *b*, °चित्ताः कुरुत, H. *c*, *gsuṅ-gyi bkaḥ-bsgor zhugs-pa* (°त्रयाज्ञामधिवहति ?), T. *cd*, शैक्षायैषा, C; *slob-pa gaṅ yin-pa* (शास्त्री यैषा ?), T.

13. Ill-omened Death stalks about yonder never satisfied even for a moment with striking down. But this gong of the Law, before which the far-flung music of the spheres sinks to a murmur, has ever shown its devotion to good works by depositing the hearts of others with Him, Whose orders in the shape of the Three Jewels it conveys, as it were, incessantly for the instruction of living beings.

A very difficult verse, only partially and incorrectly restored by H. T seems to indicate a locative absolute in *a* (*nighnaty aprâptatṛptau . . . vicaraty antake dûrato 'smin* ?). H's imperative in *b* spoils the verse, which contrasts Death and the gong, both ever active, but one for good and the other for evil. T certainly takes the gong as the subject of *b*. *Śaikṣâya* in c is difficult; the sense requires *śikṣayâ*, which is unmetrical.

मार्तण्डमण्डलमिवोडुगणं विजित्य भातीह तीर्थिकजनं जिनशासनं च ।
रंरम्यते धरणिमण्डलमण्डनस्य गण्डीयमस्य जयडिण्डिमवत्प्रचण्डा ॥ १४ ॥

Var. *c*, रंरम्यते, C H.

14. The rule of the Conqueror shines here, overwhelming the heretics, like the orb of the sun, overwhelming the troops of stars. This gong of the Ornament of the earthly globe keeps on resounding furiously like the drums of victory.

In *b ca*, which merely fills up the verse, is taken impossibly by T as joining *tîrthikajanam* and *jinaśâsanam*.

यश्च त्वं नादृढस्वं जमिजमिडुडुमारिञ्जडिन्नागिडनाडे
डम्बागिडम्बगडडिम्बगडभडभडुडुभन्नाडिभन्नाडिभगडम् ।
रगिंडरगिंडरुरुगिंडयरलवखखमह्नः खमह्नः खमह्नः
पश्यध्वं जीवलोका दशबलबलिना पीड्यते मारसैन्यम् ॥ १५ ॥
Var. *d*, यश्च त्वे, C.

15. And, O Thou, Who no faintness of heart . . . . See, O worlds of the living, the army of Mâra is crushed by Him, Who has the might of the ten Forces.

H failed to restore the verse, but the text is certain, except possibly that we should read *paśyantâṁ* in *d*.

भूकम्पोत्कम्पजाता प्रचलति वसुधा कम्पते मेरुराज
उन्त्रस्ता देवसङ्घा ग्रहगणकिरणा नागराजाः समस्ताः ।
श्रुत्वा गण्डीं प्रचण्डां विविधभयकरीं तीर्थिकानां विभीता
बौद्धानां शान्तिहेतोः प्रतिरवति मही रावयन्तीव सङ्घम् ॥ १६ ॥
Var. *a*, प्रचलितवसुधा, C. *d*, रावयन्तीह, T.

16. The land shakes with the quaking of earthquakes; Lord Mâra trembles. The assemblies of the gods with the rays of the troops of the planets and all the Nâga lords are affrighted. And the earth, hearing this fierce gong, which strikes manifold terrors into the heretics, echoes it back in fright for the peace of the Buddhists, as though it were making the Assembly to cry out.

The readings of the first line are quite uncertain. The last syllable should be long, ? *merurâjaḥ saṁtrastâ*. T seems also to have read *pracalitavasudhâ* and takes *vasudhâ* to mean 'mountain' (as a container of precious ores ?). This reading would require *merurâjâ saṁtrastâ, râjâ* being the feminine of *râja* at the end of compounds according to the grammarians. But in that case I do not understand who the Queen of Meru can be, though it would make better sense to translate the *pâda* as a single sentence with Meru in it balancing the earth in *c*. The sense of *grahagaṇakiraṇâḥ* is also uncertain. T translates *graha* by *gdon*, which means any kind of evil spirit or semi-divine being capable of influencing human affairs, and it omits *gaṇa* which might stand for the attendants of Śiva. But *kiraṇa* does not fit in with these interpretations, though certified by T; we should have to hold it to be either corrupt or to have some meaning ('retinue', or a proper name for divine attendants ?) not known elsewhere. C omits the last three syllables of *c*, which I supply tentatively from T.

एषा विहारशिखरे प्रविरौति गण्डी मेघस्वनेव कुरुतेऽतिमनोज्ञघोषान् ।
मातेव वत्सलतया सुबहिर्गतांश्च पुत्रान्समाहूयति भोजनकालगण्डी ॥ १७ ॥

17. This gong rings out from the pinnacle of the monastery and, with a voice like a cloud, utters entrancing sounds; the meal time gong summons its absent sons affectionately, like a mother calling to her children.

संसारचक्रपरिमर्दनतत्परस्य बुद्धस्य सर्वगुणरत्नविभूषितस्य ।
नादं करोति सुरदुद्रभितुल्यघोषा गण्डी समस्तदुरितानि विदारयन्ती ॥ १८ ॥
Var. *c*, सुरदुन्दुभि° H.

18. To the Buddha, intent on shattering the wheel of existence and adorned with the jewels of all the virtues, belongs the gong with the voice like the drums of the gods, which cleaves roaring through all evil.

एषा हि गण्डी रवते नगानां संबोधने देवनरासुराणाम् ।
भद्राः शृणुध्वं सुगतस्य गण्डीमापूरितां भिक्षुगणैः समग्रैः ॥ १९ ॥
Var. *a*, नगाणां, C; *sgrogs-pa-yi mi-rnams* (रवतां नराणां), T. *b*, संबोधते, T.

19. For this gong roars forth its invitations to Nâgas (?), gods, men and Asuras. Listen, good Sirs, to the Sugata's gong being struck by the entire company of monks.

I can find no satisfactory explanation of the first hemistich; it was H who suggested that *nagânâṁ=nâgânâm*. *Ran* is unusual in the middle voice.

नागैः संवर्तकालक्षुभितजलधराकारवद् व्योम्नि कीर्णे
कश्मीरध्वंसशङ्काभयचकितजनास्तत्प्रतीकारहेतोः ।
कुर्वन्त्ययापि यस्या ध्वनिमुपशमिताशेषतीर्थ्यावलेपं
सा गण्डी पातु युष्मान्सकलमुनिवरैः स्थापिता धर्मवृद्ध्यै ॥ २० ॥
Var. *a*, कीर्णैः, H. *b*, कश्मीरे ध्वंस°, H.

20. The folk tremble with fright in foreboding of the ruin of Kashmir, when the sky is full of Nâgas in shape like the chaotic clouds of the time of the world's destruction, and they seek deliverance in making the gong, set up by all the eminent sages for the prosperity of the Law, resound so as to humble the boundless pride of the heretics. May it protect you!

एषा सुरासुरमहोरगसत्कृतस्य शान्तिं परामुपगतस्य तथागतस्य ।
गण्डी रणत्यमरदुन्दुभितुल्यघोषा कृतान्यतीर्थहृदयानि विदारयन्ती ॥ २१ ॥
Var. *c*, ° घोषान्, H. *d*, कृवान्यतीर्थ° C; कृत्वान्यतीर्थ°, H; *mu-stegs-can gzhan-gyi* (= अन्यतीर्थ्य°), T.

21. To the Tathâgata, Who is honoured by gods, Asuras and the mighty snakes, and Who has reached the supreme peace, belongs this gong with the voice like the drums of the Immortals, which resounds so as to cleave the hearts of the followers of other teachers.

I take *kṛtânyatîrtha* to be equivalent to T's text; H's amendments are more drastic, make a poorer sense, and do not accord with T.

पुण्ये तत्परमानसा भवत भोः स्वर्गापवर्गप्रदे
पापं दुर्गतिदायकं कुरुत मा लोकाश्चलं जीवितम् ।
इत्थं मध्यनिलीनभृङ्गविरुतैर्जल्पन्निवायं स्वयं
मारारेश्चरणाब्जयोर्विनिहितः पुष्पाञ्जलिः पातु वः ॥ २२ ॥
Var. *c*, जल्पन्नयायाचिरम्, C; जल्पन्नपापां गिरं, H. *lta-bar bdag-gis smra-ba-yi* (जल्पन्निव स्वयं), T.

22. May this handful of flowers, laid at the lotus-feet of the Enemy of Mâra, protect you, as it murmurs, as it were of itself, with the humming of the bees lying in its midst, "Sirs, keep your minds intent on the merit which grants both heaven and final release. Good folk, avoid sin, which leads to rebirth in Hell; life is fleeting."

Ayam, though not in T, is required somewhere in the second hemistich; hence the amendment. C may have got *ciraṁ* from the next verse. The verse is characteristic of the later *kâvya* style.

मुञ्चद्भिः कुसुमानि तूर्यरणितैरापूरयद्भिर्दिशो
जोजोंकारपुरःसरैः सुरगणैः शक्रादिभिः सादरैः ।
स्वर्गाद्यस्य भुवं किलावतरतो दत्तानुयात्रा चिरं
तस्याव्यात्करुणानिधेर्भगवतो गण्डी प्रचण्डा जगत् ॥ २३ ॥

23. It is said that on His descent from heaven to earth He was respectfully accompanied far on His way by Śakra and the rest of the company of the gods, who acclaimed Him with shouts of triumph, as they cast flowers and filled the welkin with the noise of their drums. May the fierce gong of the Holy Store of Pity guard the world !

गत्वा सप्तपदानि मातुरुदरान्निष्क्रान्तमात्रः स्वयं
संसाराद्विरतिं करोम्यहमिति प्रोवाच योऽनल्पधीः ।
यस्यानल्पभवे बभूव वचनं भ्राजिष्णवभिव्याहृतं
भूयाद्वः सुगतस्य तस्य जयिनो गण्डी तमःखण्डिनी ॥ २४ ॥

24. Walking seven steps of Himself as soon as He emerged from His mother's womb, with full knowledge He said, 'I make an end of the cycle of existence.' Splendid was His speech, uttered with regard to an existence already so prolonged (through countless previous births). May the gong of the Conquering Sugata break up the darkness of your minds!

The third *pâda* is not clear to me and T began it with something like *yasmiñ jâtibhave*, which I cannot determine exactly.

जित्वा मारबलं महाभयकरं कृत्वा च दोषक्षयं
सार्वज्ञं पदमाप यः सुरुचिरं तत्रैव रात्रावपि ।
तस्याशेषगुणाकरस्य सुधियो बुद्धस्य शुद्धात्मनो
गण्डी खण्डितचण्डकिल्बिषतया भूयाद्विभूत्यै नृणाम् ॥ २५ ॥
Var. *b*, तत्रैधिरात्रावहि, C; तत्रैव रात्रौ बहिः, H; *ḥdir ni de-bzhin*
(तत्र तथा or तत्रैवम्), T.

25. After defeating the awesome hosts of Mâra and extirpating the vices, in that same spot that very night the wise, pure-souled Buddha, the Mine of all virtues, reached the blissful stage of Omniscience. May His gong enure to the welfare of men by its power to annihilate the blackest guilt!

The end of *b* is uncertain, but H's *bahiḥ*, which he translates 'far from other human beings,' seems to me out of the question. For *sârvajñaṁ padam* cf. *Mûlamadhyamakakârikâs* (*Bibl. Buddh.* IV), p. 431, l. 9.

ब्रह्मा मूर्ख इवाभवत्सुरगुरुर्गर्वं जहौ सर्वथा
शर्वः खर्वमतिर्बभूव भगवान्विष्णुश्च तूष्णीं गतः।
इत्थं यद्गुणकीर्तनेषु विबुधा याता ह्रिया मूकतां
गण्डी तस्य मुनेर्जराभयभिदः पायादपायाज्जनान् ॥ २६ ॥
Var. *a*, C *om*. मूर्ख; *lkugs-pa* T. *b*, सर्वः, C H; *ḥtsho-byed*(*śiva*), T. *d*, मुनेर्जनाभयभिदः,
C H; *ḥgro-baḥi ḥjigs-pa med-paḥi ḥgro-rnams* (जनाभयान्......जनान्) T.

26. When the virtues of the Sage, Who has rent asunder the terrors of old age, were thus celebrated by His gong, the gods became dumb from very shame, Brahman became as it were an idiot, the guru of the gods lost all his arrogance, Śarva turned imbecile, and Lord Viṣṇu held his peace. May it preserve the folk from evil rebirth!

In *a lkugs-pa* properly=*mûka*, but H's conjecture is possible and avoids the repetition of the word. So I accept it. H's Sarva could only be Kṛṣṇa. *Yâtâ mûkatâm* is a form of construction which becomes usual only much later than Aśvaghoṣa and is not used by him; cf. the next verse. *Janâbhayabhidaḥ* in *d* could only agree with *apâyât* and is not probable; the change I make is very small and provides *muneḥ* with an epithet, which comparison with the other verses shows the author to have been unlikely to omit.

यस्या जन्मनि दीनदीनमतयः प्रापुः शुचं तीर्थिकाः
सोत्कर्षं च विशेषवर्धितधियो बौद्धा धृतिं लेभिरे ।

यामासाद्य गुणाः प्रयान्ति विततिं दोषा व्रजन्ति क्षयं
सा गण्डी कलिकालकिल्बिषहरा भूयाद्भवाभूतये ॥ २७ ॥

Var. *b*, हर्षविशेष°, C H (two syllables short), for T see note. *d*, भूयाद्भवद्भूतये, H ; *rtag-tu*..*srid-pa-rnams-kyi* (भवानां सदा) T.

27. At the gong's birth the heretics grieved in deep dejection, and the Buddhists with their minds exalted by its excellences were moved to great joy. In contact with it the virtues are extended and the vices annihilated. May it redound to the cessation of being by sweeping away the guilt of this evil age!

In *b* T shows *viśeṣavardhitadhiyo* to be the complete compound; the first word is an adverb represented by *rab-tu-ḥphel* (lit. *pravṛddham*) and C justifies my reconstruction. A conjunction or a relative is required; hence *ca*. Jacobi's *âryâ harṣaviśeṣa*° and Professor Thomas's *harṣotkarṣaviśeṣa*° do not agree with the Tibetan and fail to join the line to the preceding one. T takes *dhṛti* (*spro-ba*) to mean 'joy'; otherwise 'satisfaction' or 'stability of mind' would have been better. In *d* T's reading is inferior and H's amendment of C unnecessary.

यां नत्वा विधिवद्विशुद्धमतयो गच्छन्ति तुङ्गां गतिं
यस्याः क्षिप्रतरं प्रयान्ति विवशाः सर्वे विपक्षाः क्षयम् ।
ध्वस्तव्यस्तसमस्तमोहपटला सा धर्मगण्डी मुनेः
संभूयाद्भवभाविसाध्वसभिदे युष्माकमायुष्मताम् ॥ २८ ॥

Var. *c*, *ḥkhrug* (? *ḥkhrul*) *loṅ gti-mug rab-rib*....*ḥjoms-gyur-cig* (ध्वस्तभ्रान्तिसमुत्थमोहतिमिरा), T.

28. By doing due obeisance to the gong of the Sage's Law the pure in heart attain the higher spheres, while all its adversaries go speedily and helplessly to perdition. It dissipates the masses of delusion, whether scattered or congregated. May it lead your worships to the suppression in the future of fears of existence!

श्रुत्वा यां पतिता महीतलमलं ब्रह्मादयः स्वर्भवः
कम्पन्ते धरणीधराः क्षितिरपि क्षिप्रं गता क्ष्मातलम् ।
तीर्थ्यानां भयकारिणी परहितप्रारम्भशुद्धात्मनां
बौद्धानामुपशान्तये सपदि सा संताड्यतां गण्डिका ॥ २९ ॥

29. On hearing the gong, Brahman and the other dwellers in the heavens fall straightway to the earth, the mountains quake and even the earth recedes speedily to the nether realm. Sound it instantly to strike fear into the heretics and to bring peace to the Buddhists whose souls are purified by endeavours for others' good.

In *a* H reads *mahîtalamalam* as one word, following a suggestion of Prof. Lüders; this is surely untranslateable. T has *mahîtalam* followed by a word meaning 'quickly'; that is, one should transliterate C *aram*, known to the lexica in this sense. But alliteration requires *alam*. Though not recorded in this sense, it would fit admirably passages such as *Meghadûta*, 53, or *Śakuntalâ*, vii, 34 (where the parallel sentence has *samprati* to correspond) in place of the usual rendering, 'thoroughly,' 'completely.' In *b* T takes *talam* in *kṣmâtalam* to mean 'beneath'; alternatively the word is intended as a synonym of *rasâtala*, showing the author to know the meaning of *rasâ* as 'earth,' which is late.

KÂSHMÎRÎ PROVERBS.

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, ŚRÎNAGAR, KASHMÎR.

Preface.

PROVERBS convey useful lessons of prudence and morality They magnify the delights of virtue as well as paint in dark colours the consequences of evil. Their phraseology shows the impress of the mint of wisdom of immemorial antiquity. In short, they are "sense, shortness and salt," as quaintly defined by Howell.

The Kâshmîrî is extremely fond of saws pragmatic and maxims sage. His language perhaps contains a greater number of them than that of any other Oriental. They mirror not merely his external conduct, daily life and environment, but also the disposition of his mind. In 1885, a large collection of proverbs and sayings, current in Kashmîr, was made by the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, which he explained from the rich and interesting folklore of the valley. He afterwards published them in the form of a book, which is very interesting, equally to the philologist, the ethnologist and the antiquarian. But there remained some proverbs which the Rev. Mr. Knowles could not find at the time of writing his book. These I have collected, and now publish with translations in English.

It is gratifying to note that these precious fruits of ancient wisdom, which by mere oral transmission and currency were being gradually lost, or were changing their complexion with the tide of time, are now being committed to print, and thus placed on permanent record.

Achiv khuta chi kuṭhi dûr.
The knees are farther than the eyes. (Blood is thicker than water.)

Ak ḍuḍa biyi mâji kyut ṭok.
An uninvited guest, and he wants a plateful [of food] for his mother [in addition to feeding himself]! (Brazenness.)

Ak hammâmi ta byâk damâmi.
One is the servant of the hot-bath and the other is the assistant for heating it. (Conspiracy.)

Âkhun sâhib chu tsâṭan hanzay tsuci bâgrân.
The school-master distributes the bread of the pupils. (E.g., the king spends what the people pay him in taxes, he having nothing of his own.)

Alâl-khânan na koj; parzanĕn mimyuz.
To one's own dear children breakfast is not given; [but] to the strangers [besides breakfast] tiffin is served. (I.e., a person most niggardly towards his own kith and kin, but entertaining strangers sumptuously.)

Attri-wâna chu mushkay lârân.
Khâra-wâna chĕ tĕmbarey lârân.
From a perfumer's shop one gets a pleasant scent,
From a blacksmith's shop one gets embers. (Cultivation of the society of good people will make you good. He who plays with the cat must expect a scratching.)

Baḍ kani chĕ lukacĕv kanĕv sati rûzit hĕkân.
A big stone is kept firm by smaller stones. (E.g., a man of position must have subordinates to assist him).

Bhaṭṭa taryov kadala ta gâḍi dâryos âs.
A *pandit* was passing over a bridge and a fish opened its mouth [to swallow him].
(*Paṇḍits* are generally weak physically because they do not take to manual labour, but devote themselves much to study.)

Bîb kamâlas ta mîr mazâras.
When the wife is grown up, the husband is in the grave. (An unequal marriage.)

Boni muhul târun.
To pierce a *chinâr* with a pestle. (An impossible thing.)

Brâri sâleh.
Pious as a cat. (I.e., a hypocrite.)

Buhuri-bâyi hund kan hyû zeṭhân.
Stretching out like the ear of the apothecary's wife.
(To go beyond the limit. An apothecary's wife is thought foppish: she wears heavy ear ornaments, and her ears are stretched downwards by their weight.)

Cây tani yâ gani magar tats gatshi cĕni.
Tea, whether weak or strong, should be taken hot.

Chaniy phar ta gontshan wٍar.
Empty boast and twisted moustaches. (Smart clothes and empty pockets. The loudest hummer is not the honey-bee.)

Dab lagus ta phĕran phuṭus.
Having tumbled down his garment got broken.

Dâli Bhaṭṭa ta Khoja ṭhûl.
Dâl for a Paṇḍit and an egg for a Khoja (i.e., the kind of food they like).

Gora sanzi kotshi sori na zâh.
The *guru's* bag will never get exhausted. (Priests are ever prosperous, receiving charity on all occasions, both happy and sad.)

Grahna kândur.
A baker during an eclipse. (A sorry figure.)

"*Gur ditâ paha.*" "*Nîla chuy.*" "*Nîlay ditâ.*" "*Hîla chuy.*"
"Lend me thy horse." "It is cream-coloured." "Give me the cream-coloured." "It is a pretence."

Hânṭhi wâli dôd ta gânṭhi wâli ṭhûl.
He is capable of causing milk to flow from a barren woman's breast and of fetching down eggs from a kite's nest. (An adventurer.)

Hâri zyun ta Mâghi dhâni.
Firewood in *Hâr* (June-July), and paddy in *Mâgh* (January-February). (I.e., these things should be purchased in those months, because wood is dry in June-July, and paddy of better quality is obtainable in January-February, the cultivator having disposed of all grain of bad quality before then, as it is human nature to sell bad things first.)

Hěli pețhuk shaqdar.

The guard just at the time the crop has begun earing. (Said of a person who takes no pains to earn money for himself, but feeds on others' earnings. Warming his hands in other peoples' sunshine.)

Kakawanay chě kani shrapân.

Partridges alone can digest a stone. (A strong person has a good appetite.)

Kâh gov doyanas kahi dohi chŏk.
Hash chěm zâm chěm kyâ chum sukh ?

Eleven cows are milked, after eleven days I get a little milk ;
I have got a mother-in-law [and] sister-in-law : what peace have I got ? (Mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are notorious for ill-treatment of their daughters-in-law.)

Kâlidâsas chu panani vizi wunân.

Kâlidâsa falls into error in his own case. (I.e., a wise person sometimes makes a bad mistake.)

Kâlidâsa, who was at the court of King Bhoja of Mâlvâ about the end of the tenth century A.D., is said to have gone to Ceylon to see the king of that island, named Kumâradâsa. This king was a good poet and had sent a copy of his own poem *Jânakîharana* as a present to King Bhoja. This poetic work pleased Kâlidâsa very much, and he became anxious to make the personal acquaintance of the author. He went to Ceylon and there he was staying in an old woman's house. King Kumâradâsa used to pay frequent visits to Mâtara, and when he was there he always stayed in a certain beautiful house. During one of these visits he wrote two lines of unfinished poetry on the wall of the room where he had lived. Under it he wrote that the person who could finish this piece of poetry satisfactorily would receive a high reward from the king. Kâlidâsa happened to see these lines when he came to this house in Mâtara, and he wrote two lines of beautiful poetry under the unfinished lines of the king. He was in hope that his friend, king Kumâradâsa, would be well pleased with this and would recognize his friend's poetry. But the unfortunate poet had not the pleasure of getting either reward or praise from the king, because the authorship of the lines was claimed by a woman in the same house, who had seen Kâlidâsa writing them. She secretly murdered Kâlidâsa and claimed the reward, stating that the lines were her own. But nobody would believe that the woman could have written such poetry, which could have only been the work of a real poet. The king, when he saw the lines, said that nobody but his friend Kâlidâsa would be able to understand him so well and to complete in such an excellent way the poetry which he (the king) had written, and he asked where Kâlidâsa was, so that he might hand over to him the promised reward. Nobody knew where he was. At last search was made everywhere and, to the great sorrow of every one, his body, which had been hidden, was found. One can hardly imagine how sad King Kumâradâsa was when he heard that Kâlidâsa had been murdered, for he had loved him much both as poet and as friend. A very grand funeral pyre was erected, and the king lit the pyre with his own hands. When he saw the body of his dear friend consumed by the flames, he lost his senses altogether through his great grief and, to the horror of all the people assembled, he threw himself on the funeral pyre and was burnt with his friend (see page 147 of *Stories from the History of Ceylon* by Mrs. Higgins).

Kâvas ta kani myul karun.

To make the crow and the stone join together. (Said of an unexpected occurrence.)

Kûl, kâtsur, machitĕcal,
Dushmaney paighambar and.
The dark-brown complexioned, the brown-haired, and the freckled
Are the enemies of the prophet (i.e., are found to be wicked).

Khĕv, chĕv ranga-tsari ;
Anz lug wâla-bari.
The cinnamon tree-sparrow ate [and] drank ;
[But] the grey goose was caught in the trap. (An innocent person caught instead of the real offender.)

Kulas chĕ krit.
A high class person has to discharge obligations. (*Noblesse oblige.*)

Lĕmbi phulmut pamposh.
A lotus bloomed out of the silt. (A beautiful child born of ugly parents.)

Lori hathâ loyî ta marday drâk.
A hundred blows with a rod were dealt to thee, and thou provedst to be a brave fellow. (To flatter a person after having once quarrelled with him.)

Lûk kami lâsuv ta buḍh kami mor ?
Who would think that the young might live and the aged might die ? (Death is no respecter of age.)

Magghi mo gatsh mâgasey.
Do not go even to a feast during the *Mâghanakṣatra*. *Note.*—The *Mâgha nakṣatra* (10th mansion of the moon) is considered inauspicious by the Hindus for going on a journey.

Mâji bhatta.
Food served by mother. (The best food.)

Makkây waṭ ḍishit chu sawâr guri peṭha wuthmut.
On seeing a cob of maize corn the rider has descended from his horse (the corn being so tempting).

Muma, kon, saḍân pânay put-mahârâza.
Muma, the one-eyed, burns within himself to be the vice-bridegroom [but he cannot be chosen for this]. (Said of a vainglorious person.)

Natsaha ângun chum tsoṭ ;
Gĕvaha gĕv khyom brâri.
I would dance [but] the courtyard is small ;
I would sing—the cat ate my *ghî*. (Idle excuses.)

Matshan dud ta monĕn chak.
Milk in the breast and splashing it against the walls. (Prodigality ; waste.)

Nav kath navan dohan.
A new matter for nine days. (A nine days' wonder.)

Nâv chum Lasi,
Yasi wâtsas na tasi.
Lasi is my name,
To whomsoever I did not attend, he is displeased. (One cannot please everybody.)

Nidyâris chi dugani dyâr.

A penniless person has to spend double. (I.e., he borrows, paying high interest, and he purchases the necessaries of life in small quantities, which costs him more.)

Qâlib lari bunyul.

An earthquake to a *pakka* house (it cracks it). (A great calamity.)

Parbatas dhâni bhawun.

Growth of rice on [the top of a rocky or arid] hill. (An impossibility.)

Pĕnji chamb.

A platform [proved to be like] a precipice.

Râtuk lâyun gomo khâm :
Lol ho âm, lol ho âm.
Yesterday's thrashing was not sufficient :
Love has seized me, love has seized me. (Cited when a person, with whom one has quarrelled, seeks reconciliation.)

Sera wâwa khuta chu ḍera wâw.

Want of house is worse than want of food.

Shâwl kanit ta shâli hĕt.

After the sale of a shawl and the purchase of *śâli* rice [one regrets, as the value of the former increases as it gets older, and better quality of the latter can be got by waiting a little longer].

Sĕh kas be-pîr andar mulk-i-Kashmîr—
Wali-Haḍ o Hari-Bahâdur, Sukha-Pîr :
Sĕh kas dîgar zabûn tar and zânhân—
Yikey Ârgâmî, duwum Bhairau, siwum Bhân.
There were three cruel men in the country of Kashmîr—
Wali-Haḍ and Hari-Bahâdur (and) Sukha-Pîr :
There are three greater devils than these—
First Ârgâmî, second Bhairau, third Bhân. (Beggars are a great nuisance in Kashmîr, and these three are cited as the greatest extortioners.)

Shurĕv shri=doh sûriwo :
Vântsaka ḍhaka chĕva Shrî-Pântsam
O children! holidays are over :
To satisfy your desires there is the Śrî Pañcamî (5th of the dark fortnight of *Vaiśâkha*, the last Hindu holiday of the year).

Shuri chu khormut un wanas ta kon brannas.

The child has made a blind man go to the forest and a one-eyed person climb a *brann* (elm tree) (A child cannot be appeased until his curiosity is satisfied.)

Tâlawa pĕyi nâ ṭangâ !

Would that a pear might fall down from the ceiling ! (A vain hope.)

Tâli tsĕl.

Crown of the head pressed down. (I.e., in depressed circumstances).

Thĕkzi na hovari-ghari,
Yĕti kulay wâd kari.
Do not boast in [your] father-in-law's house,
Where [your] wife will question [your] veracity. (I.e., one cannot boast before a person who knows all about one.)

Ṭar-bâza sanzi zĕvi ta râza sandis khizânas chu na ant.
There is no limit to the tongue of a braggart or to the Râja's treasury.

Tsĕtr, Vahĕk surtho putro ?
Did you put by, O son, for *Caitra* (March-April) and *Vaiśâkha* (April-May) ? (One should put something by for 'rainy days.')

Usa Ju gas chuy lor.
Hala ju, wotharᵢam.
" O Usmân Ju, filth is sticking to thee."
" Halloo, Sir, wipe it away, please." (Said of a lazy fellow.)

Uttara bunyul.
The earthquake of Uttar. (A great upheaval or commotion.)

Vetâla, wanay titâla hana, kava goham tsakhey ?
Osus na hĕkân pânay pakiṭ, phakal khortham nakhey !
O Vetâl ! I shall say to thee a humble word—" Why didst thou become wrathful ? "
I was not able to walk ; thou hast placed a stinky fellow on my shoulders to be carried ! (Cited when one is overburdened with some other person's work.)

Wufawani guri ta naba ṭang raṭani.
To catch flying horses and pears from the sky. (Vain adventures ; attempting to accomplish the impossible.)

Wani khânas khâtir pânas.
Wani Khân has his own likings. (Said of an obstinate and selfish person.)

Yĕli iwân kâla ghaṭṭâ, na rozân zaṭâ na paṭṭâ.
When a black storm comes, there remains neither a rag nor a blanket. (I.e., everything vanishes on the approach of the days of adversity.)
Yâtay na pakân, nâtay ṭakân.
He would not even walk [now] on the contrary, he would run. (Said of inconsistency).

Zana Mut ta Isma'l
Zanârdan and Ismâ'îl. (Said of one who amasses wealth for a particular person. Zanârdan lived sixty years ago. He used to beg for a disciple of his named Ismâ'îl, to whom, he said, he owed one lakh of rupees and to whom he had so far repaid only one cowrie.)

MISCELLANEA

INDIA AND THE EAST IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

India in 1930-31, Government Press, Calcutta, 1932.—Attention may be directed to the reference, on p. 84, to the survey of prehistoric sites in the hilly region west of the Indus in the Larkana and Karachi districts, resulting in the discovery of chalcolithic remains at no less than 24 places. These sites, we are told, seem to lie in a regular chain leading from Pandi Wahi near Johi to a place within 7 miles of Karachi, on the way to Las Bela. Trial excavations at many of them have disclosed a fairly large collection of painted pottery, cherts, beads, copper implements and other characteristic relics. The ruins from which the antiquities were recovered were those of stone buildings situated on the hills or in adjoining valleys, where there is often a perennial supply of water from natural springs. The importance of these discoveries, when compared with the results of Sir A. Stein's trial excavations further west, in Gedrosia, towards the elucidation of the so-called Indus civilisation will be obvious to our readers.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the Year 1930.—In this volume, which maintains the high standard of previous years, the number of items referenced has increased to 929, from 731 in 1929. The introduction contains a survey of the results of the important excavations conducted by Mr. A. H. Longhurst at Nâgârjunikoṇḍa in the Guntur district, a description of the Sittannavâsal cave temple paintings in the Pudukotta State, notes on excavations at Dông-s'on (Annam) by M. Goloubew, and on the discovery of a pre-Angkor monument near Angkor Thom by M. Coedès. An interesting summary is also given of Dr. Bosch's researches in connexion with the scenes depicted on the Barabuḍur panels, which have shown that the *Gaṇḍavyûha* was the principal text used. Dr. Vogel is to be warmly congratulated on the progress made with this publication, and on having secured a promise of co-operation from Japan.

Nâgarîpracâriṇî Patrikâ, vol. XIII, Pts. 1 and 2, 1932.—The first two parts of this volume contain matter to which the attention of our readers may be drawn with advantage. On pp. 1-6 Mr. K. P. Jayaswal publishes a short but suggestive paper on "The Bhâraśiva Dynasty," in which he emphasises the pre-eminent part played by this dynasty and that of the Vâkâṭakas in re-establishing Hindu political and religious authority in northern India. "The Vâkâṭakas were the gurus of the Guptas, and the Bhâraśivas the gurus of the Vâkâṭakas," he writes. The place from which the Vâkâṭakas took their title has hitherto been uncertain, but Mr. Jayaswal identifies it with a site, known locally now as Bâgâṭ, about 6 miles from Chirgâṅv in the Orchâ State. He thinks the Bhâraśivas probably started about 200 A.D., and held sway over Prayâga and Kâśî and the intervening territory in the Gangetic basin. He goes so far as to suggest that the Daśaśvamedha Ghâṭ at Benares may preserve a memory of the ten *aśvamedhas* attributed to these rulers.

In a paper entitled "An unknown Kṣatriya-vaṁśa called Gaur," Rai Bahadur MM. G. H. Ojhâ brings to light a very interesting inscription of 17 lines in Brâhmî characters and Sanskrit language on a slab in the temple to Bhamar Mâtâ on a small hill near Choṭî Sâdaṛî village in the Udaipur State, in which is recorded a succession of chiefs of the Gaura-vaṁśa of Kṣatriyas, who appear to have ruled in this vicinity in the sixth century A.D. The Mahâmahopâdhyâya goes on to suggest that the Gorâ Bâdal of Chitor fame were not two persons, as hitherto supposed, but one individual, whose personal name was Bâdal, Gorâ being the equivalent of Gaura, indicating his *vaṁśa*. In another short paper MM. G. H. Ojhâ propounds his reasons for thinking the Siṁhala-dvîpa referred to in Jâyasî's story of *Padmâvat* was not meant for Ceylon, but for a place called Siṅgolî, some 40 miles east of Chitor, the possessor of which may have been Padminî's father.

Mr. Gorelâla Tiwâṛî continues his useful history of Bundelkhaṇḍ, reaching in this volume the times of the great Mahârâja Chatrasâl, a chief worthy of far more attention than he has hitherto received at the hands of historians. We welcome also the appearance of 29 well-printed plates illustrating the article by Mr. V. Agravâla on "The Buddhist Art of Mathurâ," which form a notable addition to the journal.

C. E. A. W. O.

The Advaita Vedânta in the Seventh Century.

By Prof. Dasharatha Sharma, M.A.

It is generally believed that a dualistic interpretation of the Vedânta philosophy held the field in the eighth century, when Śaṅkara wrote his great commentary on the *Vedânta Sûtras*, and that his teacher Govinda's teacher, Gauḍapâda, was the first man to interconnect the ideas of Mâyâ and Brahman. The main reasons for reaching these conclusions are that Gauḍapâda is the only Âcârya of the Advaita Vedânta named by Śaṅkara, that 'Śaṅkara himself makes the confession that the absolutist creed was recovered from the Vedas by Gauḍapâda,' that throughout his commentary on the *Brahma Sûtras* Śaṅkara contends against some other rival interpretations of a dual tendency, and that Râmânuja refers not only to one or two, but many Âcâryas of the Viśiṣṭâdvaita school. But that this theory, with all the plausible arguments in its favour, is still open to considerable doubt and perhaps rejection, will be shown by the two references, especially the second, that I give below from the *Harṣacarita*, a work written at least a hundred years before the birth of Śaṅkara.

On page 632 of Jivânanda Vidyâsâgara's edition of the book, we find an excellent description of the philosophical sects flourishing in the seventh century, which, besides mentioning the Bhâgavatas, the Kâpilas, the Jainas, the Lokâyatikas, the Kâṇâdas, the Paurâṇikas, the Aiśvar Kâraṇikas or the Naiyâyikas, the Kârandhamins or the Dhâtuvâdins, the Saptatântavas or the Mîmâṅsakas, the Śâbdas or the Vaiyâkaraṇas, and the Bauddhas, speaks of the Pâñcarâtrikas and the Aupaniṣadas. As the Pâñcarâtrikas, whose system is generally regarded as the main basis of Viśiṣṭâdvaita, are clearly distinguished herein from the Aupaniṣadas, should we not be justified in regarding the latter as the interpreters of the Upaniṣads in the absolutist sense ?

The second reference which occurs on page 399 of the same edition of the book is much more to the point, and so clearly worded that it can bear no two interpretations. Moreover, the context iself, the consolation of Harṣa on the death of his father, is highly significant, and makes the meaning a little clearer than it would otherwise be.

The passage in question runs as follows :—

'देवमपि हर्षं तदवस्थं पितृशोकविह्वलीकृतं......... पितृपितामहपरिग्रहागताश्चिरन्तनाः, कुलपुत्रा, वंशक्रमाहितगौरवाश्च, प्राह्यगिरो गुरवः, श्रुतिस्मृतीतिहासविशारदाश्च जरद् द्विजातयः, श्रुताभिजनशालिनो मूर्धाभिषिक्ताश्चामात्या राजानो, यथावदधिगतात्मतत्वाश्च संस्तुता मस्करिणः, समदुःखसुखाश्च मुनयः, संसारासारत्वकथनकुशला ब्रह्मवादिनः, शोकापनयननिपुणाश्च पौराणिकाः पर्य्यवारयन्।'[1]

The Brahmavâdins mentioned herein can, of course, be only the Vedântins of the Advaita school, for the dualists could have nothing to say by way of consolation on the death of a person. Moreover, even if this line of argument be not regarded as conclusive. the tell-tale adjective संसारासारत्वकथनकुशल would leave no doubt as to the exact nature of these Brahmavâdins. The expression संसारासारत्वकथन signifies that these Brahmavâdins (who, it might be noted, are the only Brahmâvadins mentioned by Bâṇa) must have gone about preaching like Gauḍapâda that all existence is unreal, that all this duality is Mâya, that Brahman is the only real. The word कुशल ending the compound qualifying the noun Brahmavâdin is almost as characteristic ; it shows that संसारासारत्व was not a mere unsubstantiated postulate, but a well-thought-out theory which the Brahmavâdins of the seventh century could prove by the use of strong arguments and cogent reasoning.

BOOK-NOTICES.

An Account of Tibet : The Travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, S.J., 1712-1727. Edited by Filippo De Filippi, with an Introduction by C. Wessels, S.J. $8\frac{1}{4}\times5\frac{1}{2}$ in.; pp. xviii+475 ; 17 plates and a map. London, Routledge & Sons, 1932.

Although the manuscript of the Italian Jesuit missionary Ippolito Desideri was rediscovered in Pistoia as long ago as 1875, a fact which was announced at the time by Sir C. Markham (and the Hakluyt Society tried to obtain it), it was not until 29 years later that extracts from it were published by Prof. Puini, in the Memoirs of the Italian Geographical Society ; and even then it escaped notice in other countries, as it was not published as a continuous narrative, but only in extracts arranged as appendices to Puini's own description of Tibet. The present translation gives the narrative in its

1 *Translation* :—

Nobly born old men who had been in the royal household for the last two generations ; elderly relatives who enjoyed consideration on account of family succession and whose words demanded attention ; old Brâhmaṇas versed in *Śruti*, *Smṛti* and *Itihâsa* ; ministers conversant with the Vedas and nobly descended, consecrated princes ; approved ascetics, well-trained in the doctrines of the self ; sages, indifferent to pleasure and pain ; Brahmavâdins, skilled in expounding the nothingness of the world ; and *Paurâṇikas*, expert in allaying sorrow surrounded Harṣa, who being distressed by the death of his father, was in that condition.

complete form, for which Sir F. De Filippi has spent many years of labour in collating three other MSS. of the narrative that subsequently came to light in Florence, Rome and the Jesuit archives. It is the most complete account of Lhasa and Central Tibet written until the present century, as it is much fuller than those of Huc and Gabet.

Desideri started on his journey to Tibet in 1715, accompanied by Fr. Freyre, going to Leh, where the Jesuits had a mission. He was fortunate in meeting with the widow of a Tartar general, who was returning with his troops to Lhasa and who allowed him and his companion to travel in her company; and in this way they proceeded by the Tsang-po valley to Lhasa, from where Fr. Freyre returned to India by the direct route on account of ill-health. Desideri remained in Tibet for five years, during which he spent his time in studying the Tibetan language and religion with the object of writing in Tibetan a refutation of the Lamaist doctrines, especially the belief in transmigration and rebirth, and a defence of the Catholic religion. He obtained the favour and protection of the Eleuth Tartar ruler at that time, La-tsang, whom he calls Ghengiz Khan, who gave him permission to preach and to reside in the Sera monastery, where he was given special facilities for study. His narrative gives a detailed and most interesting account of the country, the people, the administration and social customs, as well as of the Lamaist religion. In regard to the last, it is curious, as Sir F. De Filippi remarks, that although Desideri knew that the Lamaist religion had come originally from India, he did not know it was derived directly from Buddhism. Buddhism is never mentioned, nor even Buddha, whom he only knew under the Tibetan name, Shakya-Thub-pa. It is, however, from his description of Lhasa and of the people that his account derives its chief interest and value. When Desideri arrived in Lhasa the 6th Dalai Lama had been recently deposed and murdered by the Tartar ruler, and a Lama chosen by him, but not recognised by the monks or the people, had been installed. In consequence of this, a revolution broke out in 1717, of which Desideri gives a full account. La-tsang was killed, and Desideri had to escape to Tak-po, where he spent most of his time till 1721, when he returned to India, as the Catholic mission to Tibet was then transferred from the Jesuits and made over to the Capuchins. Desideri returned to India through Nepal, of which he gives a short account containing many interesting particulars.

The Introduction by Fr. Wessels gives the history of the Jesuit missions to Tibet, in Leh and Ladak, from 1625 up to Desideri's time. Sir F. De Filippi has added full and scholarly notes which extend to 56 pages, on all points requiring explanation or bringing up to date. The book is well illustrated. There is a general bibliography and a special bibliography of Desideri's MSS., a general index, an index of Tibetan words which occur in the text, and a map showing Desideri's route.

Sir F. De Filippi has rendered a great service in editing this most interesting account of Tibet in the eighteenth century and making it available in English.

E. H. C. WALSH.

DIE GESETZE DER WELTGESCHICHTE. INDIEN. By Hartmut Piper. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in.; pp. xvi+232. Th. Weicher, Leipzig. 1931. RM. 6.00.

This book is one of a series written by the author to set out a new science invented by him, called *Völkerbiologie*, the biology of nations, which consists apparently in taking each country as a unit and dividing the history of its civilisation into periods, each of which is compared to the growth and decay of an individual. Indian history is divided into three such periods. There is nothing new in treating a community as an individual organism; here the novelty lies in a refusal to recognise the limitations of the analogy. Even if it were not impossible to treat Indian civilisation as a single unit over considerable periods of time, the author hopelessly misinterprets the trend of events in the critical ages from the epoch of the Brâhmaṇas to that of the Gupta dynasty, and in dealing with modern times shows himself as prejudiced as any of the critics he pillories. His method is to compare every single phenomenon to some phenomenon in some other country, and we are offered such absurdities as the likening of the *Mudrârâkṣasa* to *Antony and Cleopatra* and of the *Harṣacarita* to *Simplizissimus*. Yaśovarman of Kanauj is the Indian Napoleon, and those semi-mythical figures, Kapila and Âsuri, are the Indian Socrates and Aristotle. This is enough to give an idea of the quality of this production.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

PANORAMIC INDIA, 64 Panoramic Photographs, by W. R. WALLACE, with Introduction and Notes by K. H. Vakil. 18×13 inches. Bombay, D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co. 1931.

In this album we find a series of panoramic views of sites from the Khaibar Pass and the Himâlayan hill stations in the north to Madura in the far south of India. For the photographs, which are of outstanding merit from the technical and artistic points of view, and the way in which they have been reproduced in Dresden there can be nothing but praise. All are good, and the views of Udaipur, in particular, are gems of photography. The subjects selected for natural beauty, and for historical and architectural interest are appropriate and fairly representative, though we could have wished perhaps to find views of famous sites like the Śatrunjaya hill in Kâṭhiâwâr, Mâṇḍûgaṛh, Bodh Gayâ, Vijayanagara, etc. The letterpress, however, does not come up to the standard of the illustrations. A number of typographical and other errors are noticeable. For instance, the height of Kinchinjunga is not 17,000, but over

28,000 feet ; if the height of the Tâj Mahal to the top of the pinnacle were only 217 feet, it would not exceed the Quṭb Minâr in height ; and it would be more correct to call Pushkalâvatî, rather than Peshawar (Purushapura), the ancient capital of Gandhâra.

C. E. A. W. O.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE VÉDIQUE. By LOUIS RENOU. 10½ × 7 in. ; pp. v + 339. Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris. 1931. Francs 100.

M. Renou's previous works had suggested that he had a special gift for bibliography, and the book under review gives complete proof of this. The term Vedic has been given its fullest extension so as to cover all the Upaniṣads that matter and, so far as I can see, there are no omissions, at any rate as regards works published in Europe and America. The arrangement under 200 separate headings and the index of authors make it easy to find out what has been written on any point, while attention should also be drawn to the useful index of those Sanskrit words which have been the subject of special papers. The only mistake I can discover is trivial, namely, that in the index of authors different writers of the same name are not always kept apart. The book has been produced by photolithography, which enables it to be sold at a relatively low price and for once in a way that much abused word, 'indispensable,' may be applied to it without objection ; for no Sanskrit scholar can afford not to possess it.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

THE KADAMBA KULA, by G. M. MORAES, M.A., with a preface by Rev. H. HERAS, S.J. Pp. xxiv + 504, with 40 plates and 4 sketch-maps. B. X. Furtado and Sons, Bombay, 1931.

From about 550 to 1200 A.D., the history of Peninsular India is clearly defined by the vicissitudes of the Châlukyan Empire. Of the forerunners of that Empire less is known, and it is to one of these precursor dynasties that Mr. Moraes invites attention. The founder of the Kadamba kingdom was, it appears, a Brahman who had received his education in Conjeeveram, under the Pallavas, and perhaps in *c.* 345 A.D., revolted against them. He, or one of his successors (it is not quite clear when), established the dynastic capital at Banavâsi, an ancient city in N. Kanara district close to the Mysore border. Politically the dynasty appears as an outpost of Gupta influence against Pallava aggression. With the decline of the Guptas decay set in, and the Kadambas were finally overthrown by their quondam feudatories, the Châlukyas, in about 610 A.D.

For nearly 350 years (not 250 as Mr. Moraes has it) the Kadambas vanished from history : their territory was ruled by others. Then, in about 973, with the overthrow of the Râṣṭrakûṭas and the revival of Châlukyan supremacy in the Western Deccan, a number of feudatory principalities arose claiming to be of Kadamba lineage. This Kadamba tradition survived the fall of the Châlukyas and persisted, rather vaguely till the rise of Vijayanagar.

To piece together the disjointed fragments of Kadamba history requires courage and imagination, and Mr. Moraes is to be congratulated on the results achieved. The subject is important, for, geographically, the Kadambas in their time held a key position in the struggles for hegemony that have devastated the Deccan since the dawn of history. Of this aspect Mr. Moraes is fully conscious, and his narrative faithfully registers the political pulsations of S. India. Some of his material is new and includes the texts and translations of 23 hitherto unpublished inscriptions (which unfortunately are not annotated) and a number of facts observed by him in the course of a tour in the Kadamba country. Much of his evidence comes from the Portuguese territory of Goa, an almost unknown country to earlier writers, and of vital importance to the proper understanding of Deccan history. His dynastic narrative is supplemented with short chapters on religion, administration, trade, literature and other items of "internal history," and as for architecture, the Kadambas, he claims, had a style of their own from which the well-known "Châlukyan" style was evolved. His treatment of Kadamba geography is less adequate ; the numerous administrative divisions of the Kanarese country, so familiar in the inscriptions, need more detailed study than they have yet received, and their correlation with the physical features of the terrain has still to be worked out. Appendices on coins and on the adoption by the Kadambas of the lion emblem, complete the survey.

Mr. Moraes' reconstruction of Kadamba history is inevitably to a great extent conjectural, but his inferences are by no means wild. Of special interest is his identification of the puzzling "Triparvata" of the inscriptions, the headquarters of the southern viceroyalty of the Kadambas, with Haḷêbîḍ, the site of the later capital of the Hoysaḷas, a suggestion which has recently been confirmed in greater detail by Father Heras, in the *Karnatak Historical Review.* Occasionally he trips, as on p. 152, where he cites under Malli-deva (1217-52 A.D.) an inscription dated 1143 A.D. which he has already dealt with in its proper place under Mallikârjuna (1132-46 A.D.) on p. 134. Such a mistake could hardly have occurred if the author had drawn up a table of inscriptions arranged chronologically. Such a list, in a work of this kind, is almost a necessity. Apart from this, the book is a most important contribution to the early history of the Deccan, and its value is enhanced by copious and well-chosen illustrations.

F. J. R.

ON ANCIENT TRACKS PAST THE PÂMÎRS.*

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.

. . . .

IF we look at the map it might well seem as if the mighty elevation of the Pâmîrs, with the high, rugged, meridional range forming its eastern rim, and with the vast drainageless basin of the Târîm beyond it, had been intended by nature far more to serve as a barrier between the lands where flourished the great civilizations of ancient Asia, than to facilitate intercourse between them. Yet historical records which have come down to us both in the East and West show that through this remote belt of innermost Asia there led routes which for many centuries formed important channels for trade, travel and political enterprise between China on the one side and Iran and the Hellenized portion of Western Asia on the other.

. . . .

In my paper *Innermost Asia : its Geography as a factor in History,*[1] I have fully explained the reasons which obliged the Chinese Empire, when, under the great Han Emperor Wu-ti in the last quarter of the second century B.C., it sought direct trade access to the civilized countries of the West, to secure it 'through-control' of the Târîm basin. Situated between the high mountain ranges of the T'ien-shan in the north and the K'un-lun and Karakoram in the south, this great basin offered distinct advantages for the 'peaceful penetration' aimed at. The great mountain ramparts protected it from the dangers of the nomadic migrations and invasions. The strings of oases fringing the huge central desert of the Taklamakân in the north and south would permit caravan traffic to pass over ground where it was comparatively easy to protect it. To the south of the basin the utter barrenness of the high Tibetan plateaux makes such traffic physically impossible. In the north beyond the T'ien-shan all routes from the side of China were exposed to attack by great nomadic tribes, like those of the Huns, Turks and Mongols.

In the west the Oxus basin with its great fertile territories of ancient Bactria and Sogdiana has always provided emporia for trade exchange. Bukhâra and Samarkand have retained this character down to modern times, and so did Balkh, the ancient capital of Bactria, until Chingiz Khân's Mongol invasion brought there devastation from which the land, the present Afghân Turkistân, has never fully recovered. Bactria lay nearest both to India and Persia, and through the latter led the ancient trade-routes both to the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. These brief remarks will suffice to explain why the ancient routes to be described here had their main western terminus on Bactrian ground to the south of the middle Oxus.

It was chiefly the trade in silk which made direct access to the Oxus basin so important for China. Before and for centuries after the beginning of the Christian era, the production of silk was a jealously-guarded monopoly of China and its profitable export to the 'Western Regions' was a great factor in the economic policy of the Empire. It is to this silk trade that we owe the early classical notice of the route followed by the caravans which proceeded from the Oxus to the land of the 'silk-weaving Seres,' or China. It is to the northern of the two main routes with which we are concerned that the notice refers which Ptolemy, the geographer, has fortunately preserved for us from the account of a Macedonian trader whose agents had actually travelled along it. It led from Bactria, the present Balkh, past the northern rim of the Pâmîrs along the Alai valley, and thence down to Kâshgar.

* Reprinted (with the omission of a few paragraphs) from *The Himalayan Journal*, vol. IV, 1932, with the kind permission of the Editor of that journal. The sketch-map illustrating Sir Aurel's paper was prepared by the Editor, *H.J.*

1 See *Geographical Journal*, 1925, pp 377-403, 473-98.

But before tracing its line it will be convenient to deal first with the other great natural thoroughfare which in the south leads up to the main headwaters of the Oxus. For this route lies close to the Hindukush and the passes by which valleys on the Indian side can be gained. Another reason is that our records about the early use of this route are more ample. In this case, too, we may start from the west, and thus keep company with those early travellers who have left us the fullest account of this southern route.

Only the briefest reference need be made here to the ground over which the valley of the uppermost Oxus separating the Hindukush from the Pâmirs is approached. A look at the map will suffice to show that the easiest and most direct approach to it from the side of Balkh and the rest of Afghân Turkistân must always have led through the fertile main portion of Badakhshân, formed by the valley of the Kokcha, or Vardoj river. Badakhshân, a territory favoured by its climate and provided with plenty of arable ground in its valleys and rich grazing-grounds on its mountains, formed part of ancient Bactria which, after its conquest in the first century B.C. by the Tokhari, a branch of the Indo-Scythians or Great Yüeh-chi, was known as Tokharistân down to the early Middle Ages.

It is under the Chinese transliteration of the name, *Tu-huo-lo*, that Hsüan-tsang, the great Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, mentions the several petty chiefships, including Badakhshân, through which he passed on his way back from India in A.D. 642 towards the Târîm basin and China. The description which Hsüan-tsang gives in his famous 'Memoirs of the Western Countries'[2] of the territory next entered to the east leaves no doubt about its being identical with the present Wakhân. This comprises the valley of the Âb-i-Panja, or uppermost Oxus, right up from the river's sharp northward bend to its sources on the Afghân Pâmîrs. Hsüan-tsang makes no exact reference to the route by which he entered the territory. But considering the configuration of the ground this could be no other than the one still regularly used which leads from Zebak in the uppermost Vardoj valley across an easy saddle into the village tract of Ishkâshm close to the bend of the Oxus.

More than a century before Hsüan-tsang's passage the route through Wakhân had been followed in A.D. 519 by two other Chinese pilgrims, Sung Yün and Hui-shêng, on their way from China with an Imperial mission to the Hephthalite or White Hun ruler of Kâbul, and the north-west of India. Their narrative shows that, after reaching the uppermost Vardoj valley above Zebak, they made their way across the Hindukush, probably by the Mandal pass into the Bâshgol valley of Kâfiristân, and thence down to Swât and the Peshawar valley.[3] It is similarly from the head of the Vardoj valley that Chitrâl is reached across the Dôrâh pass. This route provides the most direct and easiest approach to Indian territory from the side of Badakhshân and the Russian territories on the right bank of the Oxus.

Sung Yün and Hui-shêng's narratives agree in quite correctly describing Wakhân, or *Po-ho* as they transcribe its name, as a country "extremely cold; caves are dug out for quarters. As winds and snow are intense men and beasts huddle together. On the southern border of this kingdom there are great snowy mountains [i.e., the Hindukush]; the snow melts on them in the morning and freezes again at night. From afar they look like peaks of Jade." How closely this description corresponds to characteristic features still observed in Wakhân is shown by the accounts of modern travellers.[4]

[2] See the translations in Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, i, pp. 201 sqq.; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, ii, pp. 279 sqq.

[3] Sung Yun's route has been fully discussd by me in *Scrindia*, i, pp. 9 sqq.

[4] Cf. Wood, *Journey to the Source of the Oxus*, 2nd ed., pp. 208 sqq.; Gordon, *The Roof of the World*, pp. 135 sq.; Stein, *Innermost Asia*, ii, 865 sqq.; also, Schultz, *Forschungen in Pamir*, pp. 139 sqq.; Olufsen, *In the Unknown Pamir*, passim.

The importance of Wakhân for traffic towards the Târîm basin lies in the fact that it provides a line of communication unbroken by any serious natural obstacle for a distance of close on 200 miles right up to the watershed towards the drainage area of the Târîm. Though the valley of the Oxus is narrow at its bottom it is singularly free from defiles except at the upper end of the sub-division of Ishkâshm in the west and again above Sarhad, at present its highest village eastwards. Those two defiles, too, are short and practicable at all seasons for laden animals. Limited as the agricultural resources must always have been, yet the food supplies of Wakhân, supplemented by the flocks for which the side valleys afford ample grazing, are likely to have been always sufficient to meet the needs of traders and travellers following the route along the valley.

Permanent habitations are to be found on it now up to Sarhad and in earlier times existed also for two marches further up, as far as Langar.[5] Thus shelter was assured all along for those using the route, an important consideration in view of the elevation at which the inhabited portion of the valley lies (from about 8,000 feet at Ishkâshm to 10,500 feet at Sarhad) and the rigours of the climate during the greater part of the year. For the conditions of life and cultivation in Wakhân I must refer to the modern accounts already quoted.[6] The present population of Wakhân, divided since the Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission of 1895 into a Russian portion on the right and an Afghân portion on the left bank of the Âb-i-Panja, can scarcely much exceed a total of about 5,000 souls. But that it must have been considerably greater in pre-Muhammadan times is proved by the number and extent of the ancient strongholds I was able to survey on my passage down the main portion of the valley in 1915.[7]

Hsüan-tsang's description of Wakhân, which the Imperial Annals of the T'ang dynasty reproduce with some additions about its history,[8] brings out clearly the great length of the territory in contrast to the narrowness of the habitable ground. It mentions wheat and pulse as the main crops; the hardiness of the local ponies; the icy winds. The dependence of the territory on the Tukhâra country, i.e., Badakhshân, which has continued to modern times, is duly referred to. Of the people we are told that they were "of a violent and coarse disposition." The pilgrim's observation: "for the most part they have greenish-blue eyes and thereby differ from other people" is completely borne out by the physical character of the present Wakhîs. They have preserved the *Homo Alpinus* type of the Galchas or 'hillmen' of the Oxus region in remarkable purity, and blue or light-grey eyes and fair hair are very common among them.[9]

Hsüan-tsang mentions ten Buddhist convents, each with a small number of monks, and refers to the capital of the territory by a name (Hun-t'o-to). This clearly places it at the present Khandut, situated on the left bank of the river and with its 50—60 homesteads, the largest village of Wakhân. It is the track leading along the left bank which travellers on their way through Wakhân are likely to have ordinarily followed; for by keeping to it, those coming from or proceeding to the Pâmîrs could avoid crossing the Âb-i-Panja at any point lower than Langar-kisht, whence, after its junction with the stream from the Great Pâmîr, its bed becomes more confined and deeper.

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5 See *Serindia*, i, p. 70.

6 See above, note 7.

7 For accounts of the fortresses of Zamr-i-âtish-parast and Namadgut, cf. in particular *Innermost Asia*, ii, pp. 866 sqq., 872 sqq.

8 For an analysis of these records, see *Innermost Asia*, i, pp. 61 sqq. The Annals duly note *Hu-mi* as the Chinese name of Wakhân, by the side of the name *Ta-mo-hsi-t'ie-ti* of Hsüan-tsang which still awaits explanation.

9 For an analysis of the anthropometrical records secured by me, cf. Mr. T. A. Joyce's Appendix C in *Innermost Asia*, ii, pp 996 sqq.

After Hsüan-tsang's journey more than six centuries pass before we meet again with a traveller's account of Wakhân. We owe it to Marco Polo, the greatest of medieval travellers, who about 1272-3 followed this route on his way to the Pâmîrs and thence to Khotan and China. "In leaving Badashan," so the great Venetian's immortal narrative tells us, "you ride twelve days between east and north-east, ascending a river that runs through land belonging to a brother of the Prince of Badashan, and containing a good many towns and villages and scattered habitations. The people are Muhammadans and valiant in war. At the end of those twelve days you come to a province of no great size, extending, indeed, no more than three days' journey in any direction, and this is called *Vokhan*. The people worship Mahommet, and they have a peculiar language. They are gallant soldiers, and they have a chief called *None*, which is as much as to say *Count*, and they are liegemen of the Prince of Badashan."[10]

It has been long ago recognized by Sir Henry Yule that "the river along which Marco travels from Badakhshân is no doubt the upper stream of the Oxus, known locally as the Panja . . . It is true that the river is reached from Badakhshân proper by ascending another river (the Vardoj) and crossing the Pass of Ishkâshm, but in the brief style of our narrative we must expect such condensation." For the twelve days' journey which the Venetian records between Badakhshân and 'Vokhan' it is easy to account, I believe, by assuming that here, as in similar cases, the distance from capital to capital is meant; for the distance from Bahârak, the old Badakhshân capital on the Vardoj, to Kala Panja, the seat of the old chiefs of Wakhân and nowadays of the administration on the Afghân side of the river, is still reckoned at twelve marches. Marco Polo was right, too, in his reference to the peculiar language of Wakhân; for while Persian is spoken in Badakhshân, the Wakhî, spoken by the people of Wakhân, is a distinct language belonging to the Galcha branch of Eastern Iranian. The small size ascribed to the province of 'Vokhan,' "extending no more than three days' journey in any direction," is still more readily understood if the portion of the valley about Ishkâshm together with Zebak formed then, as it had done down to recent times, a separate small chiefship. It may in Marco Polo's time have been ruled over by a 'brother of the Prince of Badashan'.[11]

Before following Hsüan-tsang and Marco Polo further to the Great Pâmîr, across which their journey led, it will be convenient to trace the route to the source of the Oxus and thence across the Wakhjîr pass down the Tâghdum-bâsh Pâmîr to Sarîkol. We have no old traveller's account describing this route, but it offers distinct advantages for caravan traffic and is regularly followed nowadays by traders proceeding from Chinese Turkistân to Chitrâl, or to Badakhshân. From Sarhad upwards I got to know it in 1906 on my second expedition and beyond the Wakhjîr pass I have become familiar with it on no less than four journeys. The Tâghdum-bâsh Pâmîr forms now the only approach by which travellers from India crossing the Hindukush can gain the Târîm basin without touching either Afghân or Russian ground. In the same way the Tâghdum-bâsh together with the Afghân portion of the Âb-i-Panja valley has served, ever since the Pâmîr Boundary Commission's work in 1895, as a buffer between the territories of British India and Russia.

From Langar-kisht, where a Russian post guards the junction of the Âb-i-Panja with that of the Great Pâmîr branch of the river, two easy marches past a succession of small settlements bring the traveller to the group of hamlets collectively known as Sarhad on the right bank of the river. Together with detached holdings on the opposite side they form at present the highest place of permanent occupation on the Âb-i-Panja. Sarhad is a point of some strategic importance, for opposite to it there debouches the open valley which leads

[10] Cf. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 3rd edition, i, pp. 170 sqq.
[11] Cf. *Innermost Asia*, i, p. 65.

at a distance of only some eight miles up to the broad saddle known as the Dasht-i-Barôghil. Lying at an elevation of only about 12,500 feet this easy saddle, which could readily be made practicable for wheeled vehicles, forms the lowest depression on the whole Hindukush range as far west as the passes north of Kâbul. From the head of the Yârkhun, or Mastûj river, on the south side of the Barôghil, routes lead down the river to Chitrâl or directly southwards across the glacier pass of the Darkôt into the valley of Yâsîn, and thus through Gilgit to the Indus.

The importance of this low crossing of the Hindukush was illustrated by an interesting historical event. In *Serindia* and in a separate paper[12] I have had occasion fully to discuss the remarkable expedition by which Kao Hsien-chih, 'Deputy Protector of the Four Garrisons,' commanding the Chinese troops in the Târîm basin, in A.D. 747 led a force of 10,000 men from Kâshgar across the Pâmîrs to the Oxus. The object was to oust the Tibetans who had joined hands there with the Arabs in Tokhâristân and in alliance with them were threatening the Chinese hold on the Târîm basin. There is no need to set forth here the details of the great exploit by which the Chinese general, in the face of formidable physical obstacles, brought his troops across the inhospitable Pâmîrs and then, after signally defeating the Tibetans where they barred his approach from the Âb-i-Panja to the Barôghil, led a portion of his victorious force across the glacier pass of the Darkôt (*c.* 15,400 feet above sea-level) down into Yâsîn and Gilgit. It was an achievement fully equal to, if not greater than, the great alpine feats of commanders famous in European history.

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Between Sarhad and the stage of Langar the valley contracts into a succession of defiles difficult for laden animals in the spring, when the winter route along the river bed is closed by the flood water, while impracticable soft snow still covers the high summer-track. All the same the route is never entirely closed here. Before reaching Langar I noticed marks of former cultivation in several places of the right bank, a point of some importance as proving that even here at an elevation of close on 12,000 feet travellers could at one time expect to find shelter. The remaining journey to the foot of the Wakhjîr pass could readily be done in two marches lading over alluvial plateaux or along the wide river-bank, all easy ground used by Kirghiz camps for grazing.

At Bozai-gumbaz, where we found a number of Kirghiz in their felt huts, the route across the wide Little Pâmîr joins in. From here I visited Lake Chakmaktin, near which lies, at a height of a little over 13,000 feet, the almost imperceptible watershed between the Âb-i-Panja and the Ak-su or Murghâb, the other chief feeder of the Oxus. For nearly fifty miles the view extended unbroken over this perfectly open elevated valley to where the eye rested in the distance on the range, at the time still snow-covered, which overlooks the Tagharma plain of Sarîkol.

It is across the Little Pâmîr that Tâsh-kurghân can be gained by a route leading over the Naiza-tâsh pass, about 14,900 feet high. This is described as practicable at all seasons. But the distance to be covered on ground at a great elevation and without habitations is longer than on the route across the Wakhjîr and down the Tâghdum-bâsh Pâmîr. Since Russian territory has to be crossed between the Little Pâmîr and the Naiza-tâsh pass this route is now no longer followed by traders. Other passes further north are more convenient for smugglers carrying opium from the Badakhshân side.

The track to the Wakhjîr pass branches off to the north-east from where the stream fed by a series of large glaciers to the south-east debouches into the head of the open valley. Higher up, at an elevation of about 14,700 feet, this stream forms the true source of the Oxus,

12 See *Serindia*, i, pp. 52 sqq., 66 sqq.; *Geographical Journal*, 1922, February, pp. 112-131.

as first clearly recognized by Lord Curzon. The ascent to the pass is not steep, as may be seen in the photographs taken by me,[13] and the descent on the Tâghdum-bâsh side, which I examined on the 2nd July 1900, is still easier.

But while on that occasion the whole of the pass was clear of snow, it was only after great exertions on the 27th May 1906, that the watershed at an elevation of about 16,200 could be gained by us. The difficulty of getting our baggage across, first on yaks and then by load-carrying Wakhîs,[14] was due solely to the soft condition of the snow. There had been an exceptionally heavy snow-fall all over the Pâmîrs that winter. As long as the snow remains hard the pass can be crossed with laden ponies, even in the spring, and it is certainly open to such traffic all through the rest of the year. Judging from what I saw of it in 1900 it would be practicable, too, for Kirghiz camels accustomed to the mountains.

Once across the Wakhjîr the journey down the Tâghdum-bâsh Pâmîr is easy and can well be covered in five marches.[15] Much of the first three of them lies past large ancient moraines, which show the extent of the huge ice-stream which in a former glacial period descended the wide valley. At Kök-török there joins in from the south the route which leads across the main Muz-tâgh range from the side of Hunza by the Kilik pass (*circ.* 15,800 feet). On the north the Tâghdum-bâsh Pâmîr can be gained by the Kök-törok pass from the side of the Little Pâmîr. Some 23 miles lower down there debouches the valley leading up to the Ming-taka pass, which offers an alternative route towards Hunza and is regularly used for the British Consular post from Kâshgar to India. At Payik, where there, is a small Chinese Customs post, a well-known route is passed leading across to the Ak-su or Murghâb on the Russian side.

Some seven miles further down, the valley makes a marked turn to the north and there near Koshun-kör, at an elevation of about 12,600 feet, cultivation has been carried on until recent recent years by Wakhî settlers. The point deserves to be noted; for, together with what I have recorded above about former cultivation near Langar, it shows that for travellers from Sarîkol to Wakhân following the Wakhjîr route the distance where neither permanent habitations nor local supplies could be found was reduced about five or six marches. It was an important consideration in favour of this old route, now again coming steadily into increased use by traders from the Yârkand side.

Only about three miles further down, there rise the ruins of an ancient stronghold, known as Kiz-kurghân, 'the Maiden's fort,' on the top of a high and very steep rocky spur above the river's left bank. I have shown its identity with the place of which Hsüan-tsang relates a curious local legend how a Chinese princess on her way to be wedded to the king of Persia was detained there while the roads were blocked through war. Visited there by the sun god she became enceinte, and from her the royal family of Sarîkol claimed descent.[16]

Six miles down the valley we reach the fairly large village of Dafdâr, with fields of wheat and barley extending for some miles down the right bank. Scattered patches of cultivation are to be met also on the two short marches leading down to Tâsh-kurghân, the chief place of Sarîkol. That the once tilled area on this side of the valley must have been far more extensive in olden times is conclusiely proved by the remains of an ancient canal, known as 'Farhâd's canal,' still clearly traceable from above Dafdâr for a distance of over forty miles. It is also certain tht the population of Sarîkol was greatly reduced in modern times in consequence of frequent raids of those plucky hillmen of Hunza whose depredations only ceased after the Pax Britannica was extended to Hunza in 1891.

13 See *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, i. Fig. 29; *Mountain Panoramas of the Pamirs and Kwenlun*, R. Geographical Society, Panor. VII.

14 Cf. *Desert Cathay*, i, pp. 83 sqq.

15 For a description of the valley cf. *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 59 sqq.

16 Cf. *Serindia*, i, pp. 72 sqq.

There can be no doubt that Tâsh-kurghân marks the position of the ancient capital of Sarîkol. With its rubble-built homesteads it clusters round a small plateau above the left bank of the river, occupied by the modern Chinese fort and the ruins of a small walled town. The territory is duly described by Hsüan-tsang under the name of *Chieh p'an-t'o* and is often mentioned in the Chinese Annals of T'ang times as well as by other travellers.[17] Modest as the resources of Sarîkol must always have been—for here, at an elevation of about 10,000 feet, the local saying holds that there are ten months of winter and two of summer—yet this 'post of the Ts'ung-ling mountains' has always been a welcome place of rest for caravans and individual travellers. Thus we know from the scanty narrative left of Benedict Goëz, the observant lay Jesuit, who passed here in 1603 on his way from India and Kâbul in search of fabled Cathay, that he and his large *qâfila* of merchants from Badakhshân took a rest in the 'province of Sarcil,' i.e., Sarîkol. In the looks of the scanty inhabitants of its hamlets he duly noted a resemblance to Flemings. Among the Sarîkolîs, who are of the *Homo Alpinus* stock of the Galchas and who speak a language closely akin to that of Shughnân, blue eyes and fair hair are common enough.

Before I proceed to indicate the several routes through the meridional range to the east by which the plains of the Târîm basin are gained from Sarîkol, we must return once more to the uppermost Âb-i-Panja and the ancient route which leads from there across the Great Pâmîr to Sarîkol. With it are associated the memories of those two great travellers, Hsüan-tsang and Marco Polo. The route starts from Langar-kisht where the Âb-i-Panja is joined by the river draining the Great Pâmîr lake, and ascends to the latter, just as Marco Polo tells us, in three marches north-eastwards. His description of the lake which Captain John Wood, who re-discovered it on his memorable journey of 1838, has named after Queen Victoria, is so accurate and graphic that I may well quote it in full[18]......................

Hsüan-tsang, too, has left us a graphic account of the 'valley of Po-mi-lo' and its 'great Dragon Lake' which he passed on his way from Wakhân to Sarîkol.[19] "It is situated among the snowy mountains. On this account the climate is cold, and the winds blow constantly. The snow falls in summer and spring time . . . . In the middle of the valley is a great Dragon Lake." As I looked across the deep-blue waters of the lake to where in the east they seemed to fade away on the horizon I thought it quite worthy to figure in the old traditional belief which the Chinese pilgrim's narrative reflects, as the legendary central lake from which the greatest rivers of Asia were supposed to take their rise. The clearness, fresh taste and dark-blue colour of the lake are just as he describes them. It is the same with the masses of aquatic birds swarming about the lake in the spring and autumn, and with their eggs being found in plenty on its shores. Nor can it surprise us that the imagination of old travellers passing this great sheet of water at such a height and so far away from human habitations credited it with great depth and with hiding in it 'all kinds of aquatic monsters such as Hsüan-tsang was told of.

There can be no doubt about Hsüan-tsang having travelled across the Great Pâmîr to Tâsh-kurghân. "On leaving the midst of this valley and going south-east, along the route, there are neither men nor villages. Ascending the mountains, traversing the sides of precipices, encountering nothing but ice and snow, and thus going 500 *li*, we arrive at the kingdom of Chien-p'an-t'o." The direction and distance indicated, corresponding roughly to five daily marches, make it appear very probable that the route followed by him was the one leading to the course of the Ak-su river and thence across the Naiza-tâsh pass.

17 For an analysis of these Chinese and other early records of Sarîkol, cf. *Ancient Khotan*, i, pp. 27 sqq.

18 For the quotation, see Yule, *Marco Polo*, i, p. 171.

19 Cf. Julien, *Mémoires des contrées occidentaux*, ii, pp. 207 sqq.; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, ii, pp. 282 q. *Innermost Asia*, ii, pp. 858 sqq.

It is more difficult to make sure of the exact route followed by Marco Polo's party from Lake Victoria to the 'kingdom of Cascar'; for no exact indication is furnished for this part of the journey. From the fact that it took the travellers forty days through a wilderness without habitations it might be conjectured that they kept to the Pâmîrs north-eastward and then descended through the gorges of the Gez river to the plain south-west of Kâshgar.

Leaving aside the Great Pâmîr and the Alai in the north which, as we shall see, served the silk trade-route, there are two more valleys which traverse the area of the Pâmîrs from east to west draining into the Oxus. But only one of these can ever have been used throughout as a line of communication. It is the route of the Alichur Pâmîr leading past the Yeshil-köl lake and beyond its western extremity continued by the valley of the Ghûnd river in Shughnân. Along it leads the modern cart-road which connects the Russian fort of 'Pamirski Post' with the headquarters of the Russian 'Pamir Division' at Khôrok on the Oxus.

That this route has seen traffic olden times is proved by what I have had already occasion to mention about Kao Hsien-chi's memorable expedition of A.D. 747. When he led his main force from the 'post of the Ts'ung-ling mountains' down to Shughnân he could not well have followed any other route but this. The same applies also to the itineraries, unfortunately very laconic, of two Buddhist pilgrims.[20] One of them, Dharmachandra, an Indian monk, wishing to return from China to his home land, travelled A.D. 747 from Kâshgar to the kingdom of 'Shih-ni,' i.e., Shughnân, only to be forced by the disturbed condition of the region to retrace his steps to the Târîm basin where he died. The other pilgrim, Wu-k'ung, passed through Shughnân, both on his way to India from Kâshgar in A.D. 752 and on his return thence to China about 786. On his way out we are told that he reached 'the five Shih-ni' across the Ts'ungling or 'Onion Mountains' and the valley of Po-mi (Pâmîr), i.e., from the side of Sarîkol.

It was by this route along the Alichur Pâmîr that the Khôjas of Kâshgar, fleeing before the Chinese who had reconquered the Târîm basin, endeavoured to reach Shughnân in 1759. By the eastern end of the Yeshil-köl they were overtaken by the pursuing troops and most of their followers killed in the fight. On my passage here in July, 1915, from the Sârêz Pâmîr I still saw at Sümetâsh the large stone pedestal of the inscription which had been set up by the Chinese in commemoration of their victory, the inscription having been removed by the Russians to the Museum at Tâshkend. It was close to the same spot that another tragedy took place in June, 1892, when Colonel Yonoff's Cossacks on the way to annex Shughnân wiped out the small Afghân detachment which bravely held out to the last in a post guarding the route.

The valley of the Ak-su or Murghâb which lies to the north and contains the Sârêz Pâmîr could never have served as a line of communication; for from where the valley passes into the mountain territory of Rôshân it turns into a succession of very narrow gorges in which such tracks as exist are extremely difficult even for men on foot and quite impracticable for animals. In ascending in August, 1915, from Saunâb on the Rôshân side, I found no water where the bed of the Murghâb had lain; for the great earthquake of February, 1911, had completely blocked the valley higher up by enormous masses of rock brought down in a landslide, and had converted a great portion of the former Sârêz Pâmîr into a big winding lake.

We must now turn back to Sarîkol in order to sketch briefly the several routes by which thence the great western oases of the Târîm basin can be gained. The shortest and most natural would lie along the course of the river coming from the Tâghdum-bâsh and draining Sarîkol. But this soon after breaking through the meridional range in a sharp bend below

[20] For references to these itineraries, cf. *Innermost Asia*, ii, p. 880.

Tâsh-kurghân, passes for a great distance, down to its junction with the Zarafshân or Yârkand river, through an almost continuous succession of deep-cut gorges very difficult even on foot and quite impracticable for laden transport, except during the short period of the winter while the river is hard frozen and its ice can be used as a passage. Already early in June 1906, before the summer flood from the melting glaciers and snow beds had come down, my experienced travel companion, Surveyor Rai Râm Singh, of the Survey of India, an excellent mountaineer, found it very difficult to make his way down as far as the point where the stream of the Tangi-tar valley joins the river from the north. But it was then still possible for me for a shorter distance to follow the river with laden transport down to the mouth of the Shindî defile, and then, by ascending this to its head on the Chichiklik plateau, to avoid the much steeper ascent to this over the Kōk-moinak pass above Tagharma.

Over the Chichiklik plateau leads the regular caravan route to Sarîkol both from Kâshgar and Yârkand, and here we find ourselves on ground for which interesting old accounts are available. The plateau known as the Chichiklik Maidân, lying at an elevation from about 14,500 to 14,800 feet, is situated between two great mountain spurs radiating southward from the Muz-tâgh-atâ massif. Its position is such that it must be passed by all travelling from Sarîkol to the south of that great glacier-clad massif towards Yârkand and Kâshgar, by whichever of the several passes they may traverse the more easterly of those spurs. The Chichiklik Maidân, owing to its great height and still more to its position exposed to bitter winds and heavy snowfall, is very trying ground for travellers at most seasons of the year. And to the troubles here often encountered by travellers we owe the interesting accounts which Hsüan-tsang and Benedict Goëz have left us of their experiences on the Chichiklik plateau at an interval of nearly a thousand years.

The narrative of the great Chinese pilgrim tells us that starting from the capital of Chieh-p'an-t'o, i.e., Tâsh-kurghân, he reached an ancient hospice after travelling for two hundred *li* (or two daily marches) across "mountains and along precipices."[21] The distance and the bearing alone would suffice to indicate that the two marches leading from the Tâghdumbâsh river up the Dershat gorge to the Chichiklik Maidân are meant. The position of the hospice is described as a level space of about a thousand Chinese acres "in the midst of the four mountains belonging to the eastern chain of the Ts'ung-ling mountains."

"In this region, both during summer and winter, there fall down piles of snow; the cold winds and icy storms rage. The ground, impregnated with salt, produces no crops; there are no trees and nothing but wretched herbs. Even at the time of the great heat the wind and snow continue. Scarcely have travellers entered this area when they find themselves surrounded by vapours and clouds. Merchant caravans, in coming and going, suffer severely in these difficult and dangerous spots." According to an 'old story' Hsüan-tsang heard, a great troop of merchants, with thousands of followers and camels, had once perished here by wind and snow. A saintly person of Chieh-p'an-t'o was said to have collected all the precious objects left behind by the doomed caravan, and with their help to have constructed on the spot a hospice, providing it with ample stores, and to have made pious endowments in neighbouring territories for the benefit of travellers.

On my first passage across the Chichiklik, on the 4th June 1906, I was able to locate the old hospice to which Hsüan-tsang's story relates and which probably he saw already in ruins.[22] At the head of the Shindî valley, through which my approach then lay—on my third and fourth expeditions I reached the Chichiklik Maidân by the very troublesome ascent in the Dershat gorge—there extends an almost level plain, about two and a half miles from north

21 For translations of the narrative, see Julien, *Mémoires*, ii, p. 215; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, ii, p. 285; also Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, ii, p. 303.

22 Cf. *Serindia*, i, p. 77 sq.

to south, and over a mile across. Ridges rising about 2000—3000 feet higher, and then still under snow, enclose it on all sides except to the north-east, where a broad gap gives access over a scarcely perceptible watershed to the head of the Tangi-tar valley. On a small knoll in the centre of the plateau I discovered the foundations of a square enclosure, solidly built and manifestly of early date. The plan of quarters within showed it clearly to have served as a sarai for wayfarers. The spot is held sacred in Muhammadan eyes, decayed graves within the enclosure attesting here, as so often elsewhere in Chinese Turkistân, 'continuity of local worship' since Buddhist times.

From the Chichiklik plateau three different tracks lead to the valley drained by the Tangi-tar river. Two of them lie across the easterly mountain spur by the Yangi-dawân and Yambulak passes respectively. But these passes imply a considerable ascent and are liable to become closed by snow early in the autumn. Hence the usual route leads across the previously mentioned gap into the Tarbâshi valley, which is frequented by Kirghiz as a grazing-ground, and thence descends in an extremely confined gorge, appropriately known as *Tangi-tar*, to the river of the same name. The passage of this gorge is distinctly difficult for laden animals and in places dangerous for the baggage, as for about two miles deep pools of tossing water and big slippery boulders have to be negotiated between high and precipitous cliffs.[23] The gorge is altogether impassable during the summer months, when the flood from the melting snows fills its bottom, and traffic is then diverted to the two passes of Yangi-dawân and Yambulak. In spite of an unusually late spring I found the passage of the Tangi-tar gorge already very troublesome on the 5th June 1906.

An adventure recorded in Hsüan-tsang's biography proves that it was the track down this gorge which he followed when on his way towards Yangi-hisâr and Kâshgar.[24] We are told there how the 'Master of the Law' on the fifth day from the capital of Chieh-p'an-t'o (Sarîkol) "encountered a troop of robbers. The traders accompanying him were seized with fear and clambered up the sides of the mountains. Several elephants, obstinately pursued, fell into the water and perished. After the robbers had been passed, Hsüan-tsang slowly advanced with the traders, descended the heights to the east and, braving a rigorous cold, continued his journey amidst a thousand dangers. After having thus covered 800 *li*, he passed out of the Ts'ung-ling mountains and arrived in the kingdom of Wu-sha [Yangi-hisâr and Yârkand]."

The time occupied in the journey from Tâsh-kurghân, and the exceptional facilities offered by the Tangi-tar gorge for such an attack, clearly point to its scene having lain there. In the late autumn, the time of Hsüan-tsang's passage, no other stream on the route could have held sufficient water to be dangerous to elephants, except that of Tangi-tar, which retains deep pools of water even in the winter. The eight hundred *li*, or eight marches, are a quite correct reckoning for the journey of a caravan from the gorge to Yangi-hisâr. There can be no doubt about Hsüan-tsang having done it by the regular route across the Tor-art pass to Chihil-gumbaz, where the road to Yârkand branches off, and thence across the loess-covered spur of Kashka-su into the valley debouching into the plains above Ighizyâr.

When I struggled across the bleak plateau of Chichiklik, still snow-covered early in June 1906, and again in a snow-storm on the 28th September 1930, I felt duly impressed by the recollection of the trials which Benedict Goëz, the brave Jesuit, had experienced here on his journey to Yârkand in the late autumn of 1603.[25] After crossing the Pâmirs—by

[23] For a description, see *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, i, pp. 99 sq.; also *Serindia*, i, Fig. 29.

[24] See Julien, *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang*, pp. 274 sq.; Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 200.

[25] For Sir Henry Yule's translation of Goez' record, put together by Ricci from such notes as could be recovered after the devoted Portuguese lay brother 'seking Cathay had found Heaven' at Su-chou, see Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 2nd ed., iv, pp. 214-215.

what exact route we do not know—he and the large *qâfila* of merchants to which he had attached himself had at the hamlets of the 'province of Sarcil,' i.e., Sarîkol, "halted two days to rest the horses. And then in two days more they reached the foot of the mountain called *Ciecialith* [Chichiklik]. It was covered deep with snow, and during the ascent many were frozen to death and our brother barely escaped, for they were altogether six days in the snow here. At last they reached *Tanghetar* [Tangi-tar], a place belonging to the kingdom of Cascar [Kâshgar]. Here Isaac the Armenian fell off the bank of the great river into the water, and lay, as it were, dead for some eight hours till Benedict's exertions at last brought him to. In fifteen days more they reached the town of *Iaconich* [Yaka-arik], and the roads were so bad that six of our brother's horses died of fatigue. After five days more our Benedict going on by himself in advance reached the capital which is called *Hiarchan* [Yârkand]."

It is clear that the route followed by Goëz was identical with the present main caravan track which, after descending the Tangi-tar gorge and crossing the Tor-art, as already referred to, diverges at Chihil-gumbaz towards Yârkand. The accident which befell his faithful companion, Isaac the Armenian, obviously took place at one of the deep pools of Tangi-tar.

There still remains to be briefly mentioned the route which from Sarîkol leads northward past the meridional range of Muz-tâgh-atâ and Kungur and then, turning the flank of the latter in the deep-cut gorges of Gez, follows the narrow valley of the Yamân-yâr down to Tâshmalik and thence across the fertile plain to Kâshgar. This route offers splendid views of the huge ice-crowned peaks of the range along the foot of which it passes from above Tagharma, and has often been followed by modern travellers.[26] After crossing the easy saddle of Ulûgh-rabât it leads over open Pâmîr-like ground past the lakes of Little Kara-kul and Bulun-kul as far as Tar-bâshi, where the tortuous gorges of Gez are entered.[27]

Whether it is owing to the difficult passage offered by the latter and the total absence of grazing there and for several marches lower down or owing to some other reason, this route to Kâshgar is not ordinarily followed by caravans, and I know of no early account of it. It has, however, been conjectured, not altogether without reason, that Marco Polo may have travelled at least over the lower part of it, after leaving the Great Pâmîr. He tells: "Now if we go on with our journey towards the east-north-east, we travel a good forty days, continually passing over mountains and hills, or through valleys, and crossing many rivers and tracts of wilderness. And in all this way you find neither habitation of man, nor any green thing, but must carry with you whatever you require."[28] The absence of any reference to the inhabited tract of Sarîkol might suggest that, for some reason we shall never know, the Venetian traveller's caravan, after leaving the Great Pâmîr, moved down the Ak-su river and then, crossing the watershed eastwards by one of the several available passes, struck the route leading past the Muz-tâgh-atâ massif and on towards the Gez defile. The duration of forty days counted for such a journey is certainly much in excess of what an ordinary traveller would need. But it must be remembered that Goëz, too, speaks of the 'desert of *Pamech*' (Pâmîr) taking forty days to cross if the snow was extensive.[29]

I have had to leave to the last the tracing of that route leading past the Pâmîrs of which the earliest record has come down to us. I mean the ancient trade route skirting the Pâmîrs on the north by which the 'silk of Seres' was carried from China to the Oxus basin. The notice has been preserved for us in the 'Geography' of Ptolemy, who wrote about the middle of the second century A.D. Short as it is, it claims considerable interest, be it only on the

26 For a description of it, see Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 76-105.

27 *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 108 sqq.

28 See Yule, *Marco Polo*, 3rd edition, i, pp. 171 sqq.; Prof. H. Cordier's notes, *ibid.*, i, pp. 175, 782; also Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, i, pp. 41 sq.

29 Cf. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 2nd ed., iv, p. 217 (n. 1).

ground of its being the only Western notice of the channel through which passed in classical times the most important of the trade links between the Far East and the Mediterranean regions. This record has accordingly been much discussed by scholars even before there was adequate knowledge available of the ground through which the route led.

The notice is contained in an introductory chapter where Ptolemy takes occasion learnedly to discuss statements advanced by the geographer Marinus as to the length of the inhabited world.[30] With regard to a certain measurement as to the distances between Hierapolis on the Euphrates and 'Sêra the metropolis of the Sêres,' i.e., of the Chinese, Marinus is quoted as having stated that "one Maës, a Macedonian, called also Titianus, who was a merchant by hereditary profession, had written a book giving the measurement in question which he had obtained not by visiting the Sêres in person, but from the agents whom he had sent there." Marinus is known to have flourished about the close of the first century A.D., and the record of Maës, a merchant probably from one of the Macedonian colonies established in Syria or Mesopotamia, being approximately contemporary, belongs to the period of the Later Han dynasty, when the silk trade flourished and was favoured by Chinese control of the Târîm basin.

Marinus' account of the route followed by Maës' agents shows it to have passed through Mesopotamia, north-western Persia and the present Transcaspia to 'Antiochia of Margiana' or Merv, and so on to Bactria, the present Balkh, "whence it turns towards the north in ascending the mountainous tract of the Kômêdoi. And then in passing through this mountainous tract it pursues a southern course as far as the ravine which adjoins the plain country." Subsequently, after referring to certain assumptions as regards bearings on sections of the route and to detours made by it, Ptolemy quotes Marinus as saying: "The traveller having ascended the ravine arrives at the Stone Tower, after which the mountains that trend to the east unite with Imaus, the range that runs up to the north from Palimbothra." Another passage of Ptolemy, derived from Marinus, places the station or Sarai 'whence traders start on their journey to Sêra' to the east of the Stone Tower and in the axis of Mount Imaus itself.[31]

It is the merit of Baron Richthofen, the great geographer, and of Sir Henry Yule to have clearly demonstrated that the route followed by Maës' agents must have led up the Alai and on to Kâshgar,[32] and that by the 'mountains of the Kômêdoi' is meant the long-stretched Kara-tegîn tract in the main valley of which the Kizil-su or Surkh-âb (the 'Red River') draining the Alai makes its way to the Oxus east of Balkh. This location is definitely proved by the name *Kumêdh*, which early Arab geographers apply to Kara-tegîn and the position which Hsüan-tsang indicates for the territory of *Chü-mi-t'o*, this being the Chinese transcription of a similar form of the name.

In the summer and early autumn of 1915 Fate in the shape of the alliance with Imperial Russia gave me the long and eagerly wished-for chance of following in person the greater part of this ancient 'silk route' from the Alai down to the submontane plain of the Hisâr region, then under the Amîr of Bukhâra. Fourteen years before, on returning from my first Central-Asian expedition, I had been able to see the eastern portion of the route from Kâshgar right up to the western extremity of the Alai where it passes under the flank of Mount Imaus, i.e., the great meridional range forming the eastern rim of the Pâmîrs. I am thus able to speak with some personal knowlege of the ground over which the route passed between Kâshgar and Hisâr.

[30] Cf. Ptolemy, *Geographia*, I, Chap. xi; for a translation, *see* McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 8 sqq.

[31] See Ptolemy, *Geographia*, VI, [Chap. xiii; McCrindle, loc. cit., p. 284.

[32] For references to Richthofen's and Yule's works, as well as to other publications dealing with the route of Maës, see my *Ancient Khotan*, i, pp. 54 sqq.; *Innermost Asia*, ii, pp. 849 sq.

From Termez, where traffic coming from Balkh and its modern successor as a trade-centre, Mazâr-i-Sharîf, usually crosses the Oxus, an easy route up the Surkhan river brings the traveller to the wide and fertile plain in the centre of the Hisâr tract. In this we may safely recognize 'the plain country' which the ravine mentioned by Marinus' authority adjoins.[33] In the comparatively narrow main valley of Kara-tegîn, stretching for some 155 miles from Âb-i-garm, where the regular road from the Hisâr side enters it, up to Daraut-kurghân, where the Alai is reached, there is more than one defile by the river. But it is practicable for laden transport, even camels, throughout, and owing to its plentiful agricultural produce offers a convenient line of communication. Then below Daraut-kurghân, now the highest village on the Kizil-su, the valley opens out into the great Pâmîr-like valley of the Alai. It is in the vicinity of Daraut-kurghân, where cultivation is carried on at an elevation of about 8000 feet and where I found a Russian post in the place of a former fort, that we may place the 'Stone Tower' where, according to Marinus, the traveller arrives after having ascended the ravine.[34]

It is there that those following the route now towards Kâshgar would have to take their food supplies for their onward journey. But I noted in 1915 patches of recent or old cultivation for fully 27 miles above Daraut-kurghân up to an elevation of about 9000 feet. The Alai valley in general physical character resembles a Pâmîr, being an open trough with a width at its floor nowhere less than six miles. But owing to its lower elevation, from about 8000 feet at Daraut-kurghân to not more than 11,200 feet at the Taun-murun saddle as its eastern end, and owing to a somewhat moister climate, the steppe vegetation is here far more ample than on the Pâmîrs. In consequence the Alai forms, or, until the Soviet régime, formed, a favourite summer grazing-ground for very numerous camps of Kirghiz nomads.

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33 For a summary of the topographical facts supporting this tracing of the route, see *Innermost Asia*, loc. cit.

34 I believe, we may recognize some evidence of the location of the 'plain country' reported by Maës' agents in the distance which the passage of Ptolemy (I. xii. 8) undoubtedly on their authority indicates immediately before quoting the words of Marinus (*v.* p. 92): "When the traveller had ascended the ravine he arrives at the Stone Tower," etc. Ptolemy refers here to certain bends in the route after it has entered the mountainous country of the Kômêdoi and then states that "while (generally) advancing to the east it straight turns off to the south and thence probably takes a northerly turn for fifty *schoeni* up to the Stone Tower."

I have already, in *Innermost Asia*, ii, p. 850, hinted at my belief that the point where the plain country is left for the ravine has to be sought for near Âb-i-garm, a large village reached from Faizâbâd in the easternmost portion of the open Hisâr tract, by one march along the caravan route leading to the main valley of Kara-tegîn. Now from Âb-i-garm this route, which from Faizâbâd has so far followed a north-easterly line across down-like country, turns sharply to the soth-east into a narrow valley in order to reach some four miles lower down the right bank of the Surkh-âb, which it thence ascends in a north-easterly direction to Daraut-kurghân.

It is near Âb-i-garm that I believe we must place the point where the 'plain country' adjoins the ravine. For this assumption there is support in the distance which is mentioned between this point and the Stone Tower. Measured on the French General Staff's 1: 1,000,000 map of Asia (*File* 40° N. 72° E) based on the Russian surveys the distance from Âb-i-garm to Daraut-kurghân is about 155 English miles. Accepting the equation of 30 stadia to the *schoenos* (*see* VI. xi. 4) and reckoning the station at 606¾ English feet or approximately one-eighth of an English mile, this brings us close enough to the measurement of *circa* 190 miles recorded by Maës' agents, if due allowance is made for the necessary excess of the marching distance in hilly country over the map distance.

I may add that the meaning of Ptolemy's passage in McCrindle's translation is somewhat obscured by the too literal rendering of some of the words, unavoidable at a time when the configuration of the ground could not yet receive adequate attention. What must be regretted most is that Ptolemy has not preserved for us throughout the actual text of his predecessor.

With its open ground and excellent grazing, the great Alai valley seems as if intended by nature to serve as a very convenient channel for traffic from east to west, such as the traders bringing silk from the Târîm basin needed. Another important advantage was that, what with the cultivation at one time carried on above Daraut-kurghân in the west and still at present to be found at Irkesh-tam to the east of the Taun-murun saddle, the distance on the Alai route over which shelter was not to be found scarcely exceeded 70 miles, or three easy marches on such ground.

The route remains open for eight or nine months in the year for laden animals, including camels. Even in the months of December to February when snow is deep, it would be practicable in the same way as is the trade route from Irkesh-tam across the Terek pass (12,700 feet above sea-level), provided there were enough traffic to tread a track through the snow. But such traffic between Kâshgar and the Oxus region as was once served by this ancient 'silk route' no longer exists. The trade of the Târîm basin from Kâshgar now proceeds towards Farghâna, reaching the Russian railway at Andijân across the Terek pass, while what trade in sheep and cattle there comes up Kara-tegîn from the hill tracts towards the Oxus is diverted at Daraut-kurghân towards Marghilân and the railway. However during the months of May and early June, when the melting snow closes the Terek pass, the eastern end of the Alai sees some of the Kâshgar trade to Farghâna making its way across the Taun-murun to the easier Taldik pass over the Alai.

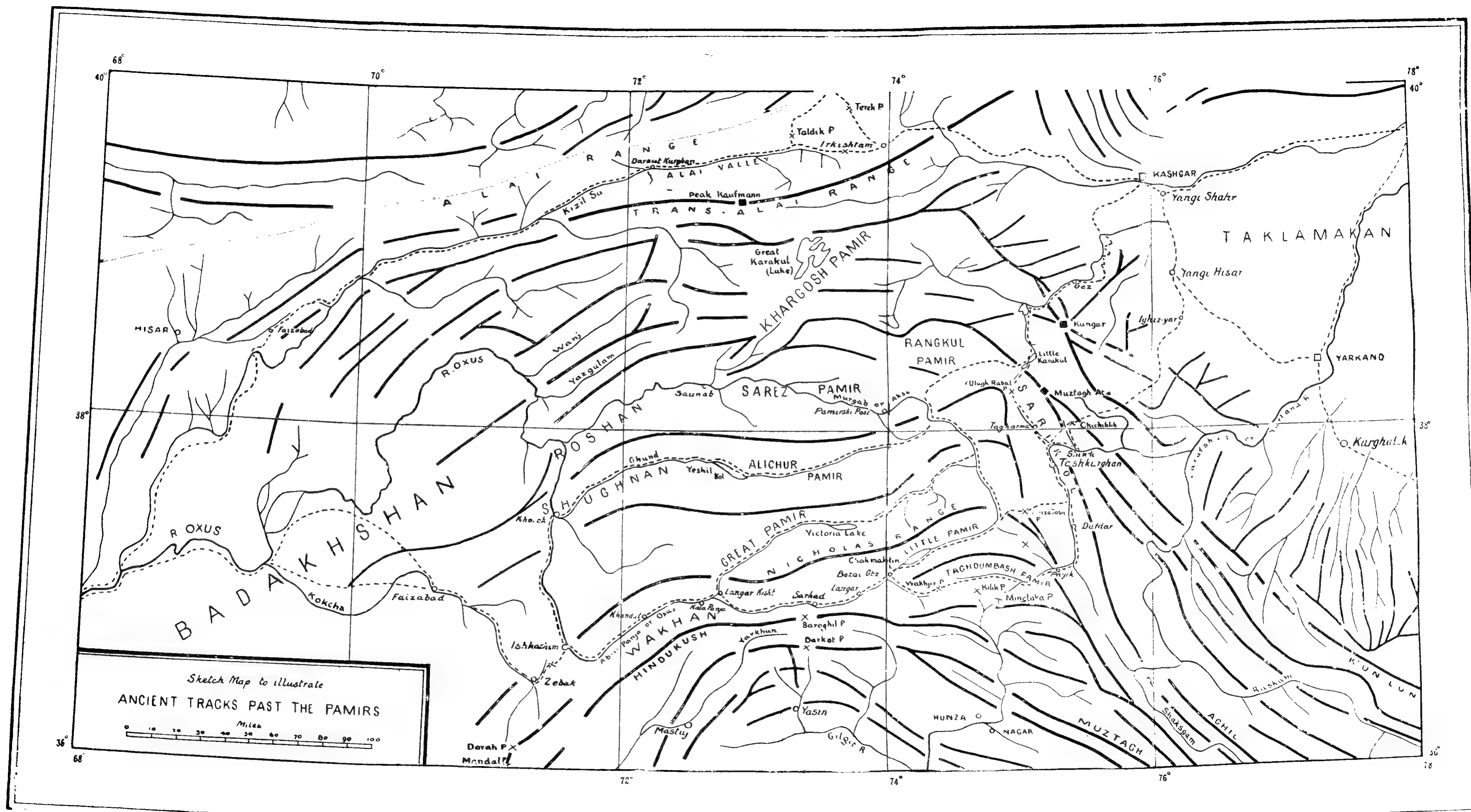
At Irkesh-tam, the present Russian frontier and Customs station,[35] we may safely locate 'the station at Mount Imaus whence traders start on their journey to Sêra,' as suggested long ago by Baron Richthofen. It is here that the Alai route is joined by another, much frequented in modern times and probably in antiquity also, which leads from fertile Farghâna across the Terek pass to Kâshgar. This location of the 'traders' station' at Irkesh-tam is strongly supported by Ptolemy's statements elsewhere, which place it due east of the Stone Tower and at the north-eastern limits of the territory of the 'nomadic Sakai,' the Iranian predecessors of the present Kirghiz.

At the period to which the information recorded by Maës refers, direct Chinese control is not likely to have extended beyond the watershed between the Târîm basin and the Oxus. Thus Irkesh-tam, where some cultivation is possible at an elevation of about 8550 feet, would have offered a very convenient position for one of those frontier control-stations which the Chinese administration has always been accustomed to maintain on the borders and which is still maintained here at present.

. . . .

There is abundant evidence in Chinese and other early records that Kâshgar was all through historical times the chief trade emporium on the most frequented road connecting Western Turkistân with China. But there those agents of Maës, the Macedonian trader, found themselves still very far away from the 'Metropolis of Sêra,' the Chinese capital of Han times, which then stood at Lo-yang in the province of Honan. In the light of my experience of caravan traffic in these regions of Asia the estimate of seven months' journey to the Sêra capital from the Stone Tower, which Maës' plucky agents reported and which Ptolemy (I. xi. 4) doubted, could scarcely be thought much exaggerated.

[35] Cf. Stein *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, p. 495.


Sketch Map to illustrate
ANCIENT TRACKS PAST THE PAMIRS
Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
ALAI RANGE
TRANS-ALAI RANGE
ALAI VALLEY
Peak Kaufmann
Kizil Su
Daraut Kurghan
Taldik P
Terek P
Irkishtam
KASHGAR
Yangi Shahr
TAKLAMAKAN
Yangi Hisar
Gez
Kungur
Little Karakul
YARKAND
Muztagh Ata
Chichiklik
Karghalik
Great Karakul (Lake)
KHARGOSH PAMIR
RANGKUL PAMIR
SAREZ PAMIR
Murgab or Aksu
Pamirski Post
Saunab
HISAR
Faizabad
R. OXUS
Wanj
Yazgulam
ROSHAN
SHUGHNAN
Ghund
Yeshil Kol
ALICHUR PAMIR
GREAT PAMIR
Victoria Lake
NICHOLAS RANGE
LITTLE PAMIR
Chakmaktin
Bozai Gumbaz
Langar
TAGHDUMBASH PAMIR
Wakhjir P
Kilik P
Mintaka P
Langar Kisht
Sarhad
Kala Panja
Khandut
Ab-i-Panja or Oxus
WAKHAN
Baroghil P
Darkot P
HINDUKUSH
BADAKHSHAN
Kokcha
Faizabad
Ishkashim
Zebak
Dorah P
Yasin
Mastuj
HUNZA
NAGAR
MUZTAGH
Shaksgam
KUN LUN
Dafdar
Tashkurghan
Tagharma
68°
70°
72°
74°
76°
78°
40°
38°
36°

RANDOM NOTES ON THE TRIVANDRUM PLAYS.

BY E. H. JOHNSTON, M.A.

I.

THE appearance of a complete translation of the thirteen plays, attributed to Bhâsa by the late MM. Ganapati Sastri, from the experienced hands of Professors Woolner and Sarup puts further research respecting these works on a secure basis. We are still hampered, it is true, by the lack of really critical editions of most of the plays, by our ignorance of the history of the manuscript tradition, and by insufficient information about the circumstances in which these and other plays continued to be acted till recent times. It would also be desirable to know what liberties this school of actors took with the text of other plays already known to us in standard recensions; for this would give us some measure of the extent to which the originals may have been manipulated for these acting versions. Despite the deficiency of our knowledge on these points, I think it now possible to examine with profit some of the cruces which are still left unsolved by the translators, although it is hardly safe as yet to go very far with those places where the text seems to be corrupt. The following notes deal with certain passages which have a special interest for me. Inevitably I do not see eye to eye with the translators in them; for it would be waste of space to deal with the many difficulties in which I either would accept their solutions or am unable to improve on them. In the case of the majority of the plays there were no previous translations and the authors are to be congratulated on the general success of their enterprise; difference of opinion on difficulties does not imply disparagement of their work.[1]

My attitude to the dubious passages of the plays is necessarily determined to some extent by the conclusions I have come to on their authorship and date, and therefore I must deal briefly with these points. In my view the case, as set out, for instance, by Professor F. W. Thomas in *JRAS*, 1928, 877 ff., makes it at least highly probable that the *Svapnavâsavadatta* is by Bhâsa, not preserved entirely indeed in the state in which it left his hands, but still essentially his work. But this is no proof that the remaining plays are by the same author. The arguments originally employed to sustain that assertion were based on the similarity of technique, the character of the Prakrit and the various verbal resemblances in the plays. The first two of these have been proved valueless by subsequent enquiry and the last seems to me equally inconclusive. For the resemblances relate mainly to actors' gags and are to be found in plays undoubtedly not by Bhâsa; as an argument it suffers from the defect of *ati-prasaṅga*. We must investigate more fully the workmanship and language of the plays before asserting an identity of authorship which on the face of it seems hardly probable. The metrical usages of the plays have already been discussed with suggestive results in this journal (1931, 46 ff.) by R. V. Jahagirdar, and I prefer to make my approach by considering the handling of the dramatic problem, as exemplified in the *SV*.

All art consists in selection, and it is precisely in the nature of the facts which an author chooses for representation that his individuality becomes most apparent. When his attitude to his material has been determined correctly, it will be found that the same attitude persists in all his works, however varied the themes or stories of which he treats, subject of course to the development natural in an author whose working life is prolonged. This principle holds for Sanskrit literature as well as for any other, even though the canons of literary activity followed in India tend to the suppression, as far as possible, of the outward signs of a writer's individuality. But Nature is not to be denied and the signs are there, though we have to dig deeper to arrive at them.

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1 I refer throughout to the texts printed in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, though in some cases later editions are preferable for use. It is much to be desired that new editions should number the sentences between each verse, so that references to one edition could be traced at once in any other. I mention each play once by its full name and thereafter by initials which will easily be recognised.

In the present case the strikingly original character of Bhâsa's work and the exceptional position it occupies in the history of the Indian theatre have, so far as I know, never been adequately appreciated. For if we enquire what point of the story it was that excited Bhâsa's mind and led him to creative effort, a remarkable feature of the play instantly obtrudes itself upon us, and that is that from start to finish Vâsavadattâ is on the stage almost the whole time and that it is her feelings which the dramatist is forcing us to consider every moment. To this purpose all the other characters are subordinated. Udayana, who might engage our interest or sympathies to the detriment of the real object of the play, is kept off the stage till the fourth act, and even then only those aspects of his character and actions which affect Vâsavadattâ are presented to us. Of the others, we might, if we had no other knowledge of him, look on Yaugandharâyaṇa as a rather futile schemer; how differently he appears in the *Pratijñâyaugandharâyaṇa*! The Viduṣaka's rôle is important only as giving us some change from a contemplation of Vâsavadattâ's feelings, which might otherwise become monotonous, and as bridging over the transitions from one climax to the next, ever an awkward point in the construction of plays; while Padmâvatî becomes a mere foil to Vâsavadattâ, to give higher relief to the latter's feelings. The same explanation holds good for another feature of the play, which puzzled me much on first reading it years ago, namely, the exiguous way in which the plot is set out in the first act. It was not so much that knowledge of the details of a well-known tale might be presumed in an Indian audience as that their narration was superfluous for the dramatist's purpose and was accordingly to be omitted. It is evident that the object of the play is to present the feelings of an ideal woman placed in a cruel situation and that anything which obscured that aim was to be omitted. And with what genius has Bhâsa carried out his idea! Every touch in the play has its definite part in the general scheme, which is never sacrificed as in most of the other works of this group for immediate scenic effect, the 'staginess' which is, for instance, so apparent in the commercial plays usually to be seen in the London theatres. Notice how admirably each scene enhances the strain on the heroine's feelings and initiates us into new possibilities of the situation, till ultimately the happy dénouement comes; what a part for a subtle actress!

One scene, it is true, has been held to show defective technique, namely in the last act when Vâsavadattâ comes on the stage without being recognised by the king. The objection taken to this by Professor A. B. Keith and the translators seems to me to be without substance. In the first act of the play Vâsavadattâ makes it plain that, as being separated from her husband, she must not appear before other men, and her conception of proper behaviour is emphasized again in later acts, whenever the conversation turns on Udayana. The exact nature of the arrangement by which she was screened from the king's view escapes our knowledge now, but it would have been inconsistent with the previous passages for her to have appeared unveiled at this point. The only weaknesses in the plot are the coincidences with which the play starts, the meeting with Padmâvatî and the arrival of the Brâhman student, whose only *raison d'être* is to tell us the heroine's previous history and to provide the opportunity for our first insight into her feelings. But these are not serious blemishes, just because they come at the beginning and are, as it were, the postulates on which the story is based. Thus they do not shock the spectator, as would be the case with similar coincidences occurring in the working out of the plot. A dramatist may draw heavily on our credulity, when setting out the situation of his characters, provided that he is then logical in developing the plot out of the conditions he has originally posited. This principle Bhâsa had grasped.

This analysis makes it clear that to him the proper subject of a dramatic problem was the revelation of the various sides of a given character under the stress of emotions gradually heightened almost to breaking point. But we shall look in vain for any later play in Sanskrit which treats the display of a single character under the searchlight of the theatre as the real

problem for solution. Compare for a moment Kâlidâsa's masterpiece with its not entirely dissimilar theme. While Śakuntalâ's feelings are an essential part of the story, our attention is not merely not exclusively directed to them, but the emotion is deliberately kept pitched in a low key so as not to disturb the general tone of the play. The resulting pattern is much richer than that attained by Bhâsa and more in accord with the conditions of the Indian theatre, in which, as has happened elsewhere, close association with sophisticated courts brought as consequences the demand for a happy ending and for æsthetic entertainment in place of emotional excitement. Bhâsa's methods however should lead in the natural course to attempts to probe the deepest recesses of passion or to explore the ultimates of human character and conduct, as the greatest of European tragedians set themselves to do. And in plays of that type, while we should be left at the close with a feeling of peace after storm, the conventional happy ending is an anti-climax, which jars on a sensitive audience. It is because the rules of the day forced such an ending on the *SV* that after the beautiful handling of the theme in the earlier acts we come to earth with a bump in the summary dénouement of the last act. His successors were therefore wise, given the conditions under which they worked, not to push further along the road he had opened, but to devote themselves to the exploitation of another aspect of his work. For in my view he is the first Sanskrit author, to whom the exact preservation of 'values,' if I may use a term of modern painting, is the essential of good drama and good writing. This is the quality denoted by *rasa* in its original meaning before the pedantry of the rhetoricians degraded it, and I shall have more to say about this in comparing the dialogue of the *SV* with that of the *Daridracârudatta*, but in this point he is the forerunner of Kâlidâsa, who is as supreme among poets for his handling of values, as Velasquez or Vermeer among painters.

The inference I draw from this line of reasoning is that no play can safely be attributed to Bhâsa, which does not show the same attitude to the theatre. One play undoubtedly does show it, namely the *PY*, and for this reason I would give it to him. In fact almost every scholar, whatever his opinion about the authorship of the plays as a whole, holds that these two plays are by the same hand. In the *PY* the problem is to present the character of an ideal minister in all its facets, his foresight and fertility of resource, his loyalty, his bravery and steadfastness. From this point of view it is at once apparent that Act ii, whose genuineness is doubted by Professor Woolner, is a later interpolation, if only because it distracts our attention for too long from the real subject of the play. Very properly neither Udayana nor Mahâsena are brought on the stage in the genuine parts of the play, because their superior social status would obscure Yaugandharâyaṇa's position as hero. Even after removing this obstruction to our enjoyment, the play is not entirely successful. The first act, for instance, is too lacking in dramatic effect with its long drawn out tale of Udayana's capture. Yet even this has its point. For while it would have been easy to present the story on the stage in a form which would have been far more thrilling to the audience, the point to which Bhâsa wishes to direct our attention is not the capture of the king but the minister's reaction to it; it is his character alone which is to concern us. The translators object similarly to the lack of action in the last act.

These criticisms really amount to this, that the author has failed to observe the conditions of the stage in the solution of his problem. For the theatre demands that a play, which is not a poetic drama designed for the reader instead of the spectator, should enforce its point on us, whatever it may be, whether the development of a character, of a story, or of emotion, by purely dramatic methods, that is by means of action, situation and dialogue, and not by mere description of action and feelings; and there is too much of these last in the *PY*. I would go further and say that the play's failure is due in the last resort to faulty choice of subject. The theme is the minister's character, not his emotions under stress, but Bhâsa's gifts were not adapted to this. For as a dramatist he is at his best in situations which demand

the subtle representation of emotion in a romantic setting, since nature endowed him with a genuine and delicate, if somewhat slight, lyrical talent, a capacity for intensely dramatic dialogue and a subtle sense of humour. Two instances of the latter I explain below, but many allusions and hits, which would have been apparent enough to the audience of his day, are veiled for us by our ignorance of contemporary literature. In these last two aspects of his genius I doubt if he is surpassed by any other Sanskrit playwright, not even by Kâlidâsa himself. But in the first point he did not fully exploit the possibilities of the use of verse on the stage. For the spectator is also an auditor, and nicely calculated verbal music by its capacity for expressing emotional tension is able to bring home to him the full bearing of the situation.

One curious detail, dealt with below, separates these two plays from the remainder, namely that in them alone are to be found definite allusions to the works of Aśvaghoṣa. There are a few passages in the other plays which bear some resemblance to passages in the Buddhist poet, but they are not of a nature which enables it to be said that the resemblance is anything but fortuitous.

Of the remaining plays the excellence of the *DC* has always been recognised, but I fail to see how it can possibly be by the same hand as the *SV* and *PY*. The author has an admirable melodramatic talent, and the centre of gravity lies in the story, not in the delineation of character or of shades of emotion. While his story-telling is good, his command of the details of dramatic technique is weak, and, as shown by Dr. Morgenstierne, a good part of Śûdraka's work in taking over the play lay in smoothing out the minor discrepancies and improbabilities. Bhâsa shows no such crudities in his plays. The verse of the play is competent, sometimes good, but of stronger, coarser, texture than that of Bhâsa's delicate muse; the occasional clumsinesses may be due, in some cases at least, to a faulty text tradition. As compared with the *SV* and *PY*, the dialogue is crisper, wittier, more idiomatic, with sharper outlines, the conversation of a cultured *goṣṭhî* refined to a high degree. But it throws its light only on the exterior facets of life, explaining the immediate action of the stage, but not the hidden life behind. Bhâsa eschews a vivid presentation of the outer scene in order to let us see, reflected as it were in the mirror of their words, the emotions that move his persons. The hard, bright forms that bring the story of the *DC* to life would ruin the delicate tone-scheme of the *SV*, whose shimmering talk with its careful attention to values transports us to a world where the outer accidents of life seem but shadows, the inner life the reality. And thus each figure in the latter, generalised though it be to the point of blurring the individual traits, stands out before us like a statue in the round, whereas the *DC* is a bas-relief, animated and exciting, but essentially flat in pattern. It is not surprising therefore that its dialogue contains far more difficulties than those of the other two plays, and in detail of style and language it seems to me to belong to a slightly later period. It may be noted as a curiosity that these three works are fond of the construction with *kâmam* (*SV* once, *PY* twice, *DC* three times, as against twice all told in the remaining ten plays).

If I cannot see the hand of Bhâsa in the *DC*, still less can I see it in the remainder, which dramatically stand on a much lower level and linguistically seem to belong to a substantially later period. It is significant of earlier Indian opinion of their value that, while there is definite evidence connecting Bhâsa with the *SV*, and while the *PY* and the *DC* are known to the dramatic theorists, we have no allusion to any of the other plays and only one or two of their verses are quoted in the anthologies. For language I may note that these plays are decidedly fond of using the idiom by which a verb meaning 'go' governs an abstract noun in °*tâ* to indicate the assumption of a state or likeness; this idiom is not to be found in the first three plays or in the earliest *kâvya* generally. To take one play, the *Avimâraka*, I would refer to the addiction of its author for the verb *mandîbhû* (four times), not found in the other plays. It seems to be an attempt to imitate the *DC* in its method, but the author

is utterly incompetent to handle dramatically a story which in itself has possibilities. The latest of all seems to be the *Abhiṣekanâṭaka*, whose inferiority is recognised by the translators. The use of a word such as *bhagaṇeśa*, 'sun' (vi, 6), is sufficient to prove the lateness of the author, who also uses *srasta* twice (i, 9, and 16) in the curious sense of 'sunken' eyes, a usage only known to medical literature according to the *PW*. The *Pratimânâṭaka* is perhaps the best of them, at any rate in parts, but the famous statue scene is hardly well carried through, and its intrusion into the play is dramatically a mistake, as interrupting the story and distracting our interest from the leading characters, just when we ought to be concentrating on them. In general the low standard of workmanship of these plays is painfully apparent, if we compare them with, say, the *Mattavilâsa* or the four *bhâṇas* published under the name of *Caturbhâṇî*, to take only works of the second rank. It is to my mind one of the curiosities of literary criticism that ten plays, so deficient in dramatic properties and so lacking in distinction of language, should have been confidently attributed to a master of style and of the theatre, such as the *SV* shows Bhâsa to have been. Though differences of language and technique suggest that several hands are responsible for them, it would be of little interest to discuss among how many authors they should be distributed.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ATLAS OF GREATER INDIA.

The Kern Institute has undertaken the publication of an Archæological Atlas of Greater India (India proper, Ceylon, Further India and Indonesia). A preliminary list of the maps which the proposed Atlas is to contain will be found subjoined to this notice, but the editors wish it to be understood that this list is by no means final but can be enlarged or modified. Any suggestion made with regard to the proposed scheme will receive careful consideration.

It is the intention of the editors to restrict themselves to ancient, i.e., pre-Muhammadan India. The information embodied in the maps will be chiefly topographical, the ancient names (Sanskrit or Sanskritized) of towns, villages, districts, rivers, etc., being printed in red letters under the modern names.

It will be the endeavour of the editors to collect and utilize all available data regarding the ancient topography found in Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit literature and inscriptions. There can be little doubt that there are still many passages hidden away in that huge literature which will throw light on the position of a certain locality and which hitherto have escaped notice. The task of collecting such passages cannot, however, be accomplished without the co-operation of many scholars.

The editors, therefore, appeal to the scholars of Great Britain and India to lend them their valuable assistance in this matter. This assistance can best be rendered by the communication of any passage of geographical interest, which will be the more valuable if taken from some little-known or unpublished text. It goes without saying that information derived from other sources (Greek, Chinese, Tibetan, etc.) will be equally welcome.

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BOOK-NOTICE.

HINDU ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH INDIA, by Rao Bahadur S. K. Aiyangar, M.A., PH.D. Published by the Madras University.

This work constitutes the course of Sir William Meyer lectures for the year 1929-30 delivered to the University of Madras by Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. They constitute a course of six lectures, the object of which is to examine the gradual process of the origin and growth of the administrative institutions under Hindu rule in South India. That the administrative institutions of this country have a character of their own, notwithstanding a considerable similarity of principle between these and those of northern India has already been made clear by the same writer years ago. In this course, he makes a more systematic examination and utilises the information which has become available since then and leads to a more or less complete study of the subject.

Starting from the established fact that South India, India south of the Krishna, constituted in many particulars a separate and distinct division of India, the lecturer proceeds by a careful examination of Early Tamil literature to discover the rudiments of these institutions in early Tamil India. While he collects together and explains the scattered references to these, and hints at some of those that have become more prominent later, he subjects these to an examination in the light of one section of the great classic, Kural, which devotes itself to the second of the four ends of existence, namely wealth. This book, by far the largest, constituting the second of the three large sections of the Kural, constitutes by itself an *Arthaśâstra* comparable to that of Kauṭilya, though much closer in point of its attitude to society than the political chapters of the *Dharmaśâstras* generally.

These two topics provide the necessary background from which to proceed. There is then an examination of the references to administrative institutions in the few Pallava inscriptions that have been brought to notice, followed by another chapter on the records of the age of the Great Pallavas, where these institutions show a greater development, and the information available also becomes more full. The inscriptional material available is analysed, commented upon and discussed to make the details more intelligible than they are as they are found in the published inscriptions of the department of Epigraphy. In the age of the Pallavas, extending from 300 to 900, these show a greater development, and a more extensive growth in the Tamil country. When, therefore, we pass from out of the Pallava dominance into the period of the Choḷa ascendency, we are already provided with a set of institutions fairly complete and self-sufficient. Though these received their complete development under the Choḷa empire extending from, or a little before, 900 to 1350, it is under the Cholas that these institutions are seen at their best, and in the fullest working order, chiefly owing to the fulness of information available for the particular period.

The next lecture gives in outline the system in working order under the Choḷas. It is there exhibited as a fully developed system of local government subject to the control, as it would seem the minimum control, of the provincial governors, the central government interfering effectively generally only on appeal. The information is all collected from the large number of inscriptions scattered through the Tamil country containing various of these details. In a number of instances these seem to be brought together in official communications of different kinds, and when these are in actual use, they supply us with extracts from the elaborate registers and official records maintained by the government. These exhibit the system as it obtained under the Choḷa empire; the whole practical administration was in the hands of rural communties consisting either of large single villages, or of unions of villages constituting groups. These took cognisance of practically all departments of civil administration, revenue, judicial, irrigation, D. P. W., etc., and were actually managed by committees elected by the inhabitants of villages under recognised rules of franchise and procedure. An important appendix to this section gives the text and translation of a circular issued pretty early in the period under the great ruler Parântaka I. These communities and committees exercised extensive powers, and from the material presented, it seems clear that these bodies discharged their responsibilities very satisfactorily on the whole.

Having given a picture of the administration at its best, the next lecture exhibits the condition of this administration through the period of confusion following the Muhammadan invasions and the single-minded struggle to keep that part of the country free from Muhammadan domination. The administration of the various parts constituting the Vijayanagar empire from the middle of the fourteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth shows a successful effort at reparation, and conservation of the system as it obtained in the previous age.

The course of lectures, on the whole, gives us a well-documented picture of the administration as it actually obtained, and gives us an idea, a much fuller idea than any we have hitherto had, of a system of Indian administration. In the concluding pages attention is drawn to efforts at rural reconstruction in modern times, what the ultimate aims of such rural reconstruction are intended to be, and how far the system of rural administration as it obtained under Hindu rule comes up to the ideals of modern administrative reform. It is an illuminating course of lectures quite worthy of the author and the founder of the endowment.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

HISTORICAL DATA IN PADMAGUPTA'S NAVASÂHASÂÑKACARITA.

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THE *Navasâhasâñkacarita* of Padmagupta, *alias* Parimala, is one of the few important *kâvyas* in Sanskrit literature. Soon after its discovery Messrs. Zachariæ and Bühler wrote a descriptive and critical account of it in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Imp. Academy of Sciences (1888), which was translated into English and published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXXVI (1907). The work has been edited by Paṇḍit V. S. Islampurkar in the Bombay Sanskrit Series (1895). It is now well known that its author, Padmagupta, was a court poet, first of Vâkpati Muñja and then of his successor, Sindhurâja, the father of the illustrious Bhoja of Dhârâ. Soon after its composition its literary merits were recognised by ancient critics, and it has been drawn upon for illustrations of figures, etc., by writers on dramaturgy and rhetoric from Dhanañjaya (eleventh century) downwards. Apart from its literary merits, its importance for contemporary history cannot be over-estimated, for it is one of the few *kâvyas* in Sanskrit literature, the authors of which have given a poetic account of the events in the lives of their patrons. The direct references to historical events contained in it were collected by Dr. Bühler in the article above referred to : "A number of princes and peoples, whom Sindhurâja is said to have conquered, are presented in X, 14-20. Among the names mentioned are found a prince of the Hûṇas of the same race as he, with whom Sîyaka waged war, and a prince of the Kosalas. Further is mentioned the subjection of the inhabitants of Vâgaḍa, of the eastern part of the province of Kacch, of Lâṭa, middle and central Gujarât, and the Muralas, of a people in Southern India, that is perhaps identical with the Keralas, the inhabitants of Malabâr. The word of an Indian court poet, when he speaks of his lord's victories, must not be put in golden scales. Every Indian hero must have made his *dig-vijayayâtrâ*, 'his march to the conquest of the world.'"[1] This last remark of Dr. Bühler has been falsified in several instances by recent historical researches. Indian poets may have been fond of exaggeration but we should not brush aside their account as untrustworthy, unless it is disproved or rendered unlikely by other, incontrovertible evidence. Unfortunately no inscriptional records of the reign of Sindhurâja have yet been discovered, but from what we know of the reigns of his predecessors and successors, his wars referred to by Padmagupta do not seem to be improbable. We know, for instance, that both Sîyaka[2] and Muñja[3] had waged wars on a Hûṇa king, and that the grandfather of Bhâskara, who engraved the Sanskrit dramas at Ajmer in the twelfth century, was born in a family of Hûṇa princes and was a favourite of King Bhoja.[4] The Hûṇa princes defeated by the Paramâra and Kalacuri kings must have been reigning in some part of Central India. We know, again, that Bhoja's authority was acknowledged in Lâṭa till 1086 A.D. at least.[5] As a matter of fact, Dr. Bühler also has acknowledged that "the expeditions against the Hûṇa, against Vâgaḍ, which belonged to the kingdom of the Câlukya of Aṇhilvâḍ, and against Lâṭa where ruled the dynasty of Bârapa, ... were not at all unlikely." The same can also be said of the wars against the Muralas and Kosalas. As I have shown elsewhere,[6] Murala need not be identified with Kerala, but must be placed in the northern part of the Nizâm's Dominions. The king of Kosala defeated by Sindhurâja must have been one of the Gupta or the Śarabhapur dynasty that ruled at Śrîpur in the Central Provinces.

To the above list of kings and peoples vanquished by Sindhurâja we might add the kings of Kuntala and Aparântaka or Koṅkaṇa. Sindhurâja's victories over them have not

1 *I.A.*, XXXVI, p. 171.

2 The Udepur Praśastî of the kings of Malwa, *E.I.*, I, p. 223.

3 Kauthem Plates of Vikramâditya V, *I.A.*, XVI, p. 15 f.

4 *I.A.*, XX, p. 201.

5 Proceedings of the Poona Oriental Conference—Tilakwada Plates.

6 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, XI, p. 369.

been noticed by Dr. Bühler. Padmagupta thus describes the former event[7] :— "Who (Sindhurâja) with his sword red with missiles took back his kingdom (*svarâjya*) which was occupied by the lord of Kuntala, who had overrun all directions, just as the sun, whose harbinger is Aruṇa, assumes possession of the day that was before enveloped in dense darkness spread in all directions." The use of the word *antarita* (occupied) in connection with *svarâjya* (kingdom) shows that the lord of Kuntala had annexed some portion of the Paramâra kingdom, and that Sindhurâja won it back. Kuntala is well known as the name of the Southern Marâṭhâ Country, which was then ruled over by the Later Câlukyas.[8] Tailapa, the founder of this dynasty, had defeated, imprisoned and afterwards beheaded Sindhurâja's elder brother and predecessor, Vâkpati Muñja. Tailapa seems to have next annexed the southern portion of the Paramâra kingdom, which we learn from Merutuṅga's account, extended as far as the Godâvarî.[9] Padmagupta is naturally silent about these reverses sustained by his former patron whom he held in great veneration ; but we need not, on that account, doubt the veracity of his statement that Sindhurâja won the territory back soon after his accession. Tailapa died soon after Muñja, in 997 A.D., and his son Satyâśraya, though a worthy successor of his father, found himself soon involved in a protracted struggle with the Coḷa king, Râjarâja the Great. It was only in 1007-1008 A.D. when Satyâśraya inflicted a crushing defeat on the Coḷas, that the danger of Coḷa invasion disappeared. During these troublous times, when Satyâśraya's attention was directed to the south, Sindhurâja must have recovered the territory lost by his predecessor, Vâkpati Muñja. The Kalvan plates of Yaśovarman [10] show that Paramâra supremacy was acknowledged in the Śvetapada country (the northern part of the Nâsik district) in the time of Sindhurâja's son and successor Bhoja.

Sindhurâja's victory in Aparânta or Koṅkaṇa[11] is also very important for understanding the events described in the *Navasâhasâṅkacarita*. The Śilâhâras of North Koṅkaṇa were for a long time the feudatories of the Râṣṭrakûṭas. They do not seem to have readily submitted to the later Câlukyas, after the overthrow of the Râṣṭrakûṭas, for the plates[12] of Aparâjitadeva dated Śaka 915 and 919, though he calls himself Mahâsâmanta therein, give the genealogy of the Râṣṭrakûṭas, and not of the later Câlukyas, and contain expressions of regret for the overthrow of his former suzerains. After 997 A.D. he may have submitted to Satyâśraya, for we learn from the work of the Kanarese poet Raṇṇa that Tailapa's son, Satyâśraya, "routed the lord of Koṅkaṇa and extended his kingdom as far as the sea." When Aparâjita fled and entered the sea he desisted from slaying him. Hemmed in by the ocean on one side and the sea of Satyâśraya's army on the other, Aparâditya trembled like an insect on a stick both the ends of which are on fire. Satyâśraya burnt Aṁśunagara in Aparâditya's country and received twenty-one elephants from him.[13] Aparâditya seems to have died soon after. He had two sons—Arikesarin, *alias* Keśideva, and Vajjaḍa. From the Bhândup plates of Chittarâja, we learn that the latter, though younger, succeeded to the throne, superceding the claims of Arikesarin.[14] It seems that Arikesarin called in the aid of Sindhurâja to gain the throne of which he was the rightful claimant. Sindhurâja's invasion of Aparânta must, evidently, have been directed against Vajjaḍa, to place his elder brother on the throne of northern Koṅkaṇa. No inscriptions of Vajjaḍa have come down to us. His father, Aparâditya, was on the throne in 997 A.D. If the above reconstruction of the history of Koṅkaṇa

7 आक्रान्तदिङ्मण्डलकुन्तलेन्द्रसान्द्रान्धकारान्तरितं रणे यः । स्वराज्यमस्त्रारुणमण्डलाग्रो गृहीतवान् दीधितिमानिवाहः ॥ नवसाहसांकचरित I, 74.

8 *E.I.*, XII, p. 144 f.

9 Smith—*Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, p. 395.

10 *E.I.*, vol. XIX.

11 *Navasâhasâṅkacarita* X, 19.

12 C. V. Vaidya—*History of Mediæval Hindu India*, vol. II, App. VI ; *E.I.*, III, p. 271.

13 *I A.*, XL. p. 41.

14 तस्मादभूद्वज्जडदेवनामा ततोऽग्रजः श्रीकेशिदेवश्च । *E.I.*, XII, p. 262.

is correct, Arikesarin must have gained the throne in the first decade of the eleventh century. Vajjaḍa could, therefore, have reigned only for a short time. We know that Arikesarin continued on the throne till 1017 A.D. at least, for the Thana plates, in which he calls himself the lord of the whole of Koṅkaṇa, were issued in that year. We shall see later on that he sent a large army under his son to help Sindhurâja, evidently out of gratitude for the help he had received from him.

After disposing of the direct references to Sindhurâja's victories, let us turn to the story of the *Navasâhasâṅkacarita*.

Sindhurâja, while hunting on the slopes of the Vindhya mountains sees and falls in love with Śaśiprabhâ, also called Âśugâ, a daughter of the snake king Śaṅkhapâla. She has for her friends Pâṭalâ, the snake princess, Mâlyavatî, the daughter of a *siddha*, and Kalâvatî, the daughter of a king of Kinnaras. Śaśiprabhâ, after her meeting with the king, is carried away by invisible snakes to Bhogavatî in the nether world. The king flings himself into the stream of the Narmadâ to follow her, and on the other side reaches a golden palace. The river goddess Narmadâ receives him hospitably, and tells him how he should win Śaśiprabhâ. When she was born, it was predicted that she would become the wife of a ruler of the middle world and bring about the death of Vajrâṅkuśa, a mighty enemy of the snakes. Her father laid down the following condition for her marriage, *viz.*, that her suitor should bring the lotus with golden flowers which grows in the pleasure garden of Vajrâṅkuśa. Narmadâ tells Sindhurâja that at a distance of fifty *gavyûtis* lies the town of Ratnavatî built by Maya, the architect of the Asuras, where reigns Vajrâṅkuśa, the prince of demons. Finally Narmadâ prophesies that the king will meet the sage Vaṅku on his way to Ratnavatî. He then sends a message to Śaśiprabhâ by Ratnacûḍa, a snake youth who had been cursed by a sage to become a parrot, but was released from that state by Sindhurâja. Then the king accompanied by his minister Yaśobhaṭa, also called Ramâṅgada, starts for Ratnavatî. On the way they reach the grove of the sage Vaṅku. There they converse with the sage and meet Śaśikhaṇḍa, the son of Śikhaṇḍaketu, a king of the Vidyâdharas, who had been transformed into a monkey, but regained his original form by the favour of Sindhurâja. In gratefulness Śaśikhaṇḍa brought his troops to help the king in his expedition. The king then proceeds, sees a wood and then the Trimârggâ (Jaṅgâ). He also meets an army led by Ratnacûḍa. The allied armies surround the town Ratnavatî. A battle is fought. Ramâṅgada, the minister of Sindhurâja, kills Viśvâṅkuśa, the son of Vajrâṅkuśa. The king himself kills Vajrâṅkuśa. The town Ratnavatî is stormed and taken. The snake youth Ratnacûḍa is made Governor of the kingdom of the Asura king. The king takes possession of the golden lotus flowers and proceeds towards Bhogavatî. He presents the golden flowers to Śaśiprabhâ and marries her. Śaṅkhapâla makes the king a present of the crystal *Śivaliṅga* made by Tvashṭṛi. The king returns to Ujjaini, and then to Dhârâ, where he establishes the crystal *Śivaliṅga*.

The brief analysis of the poem given above will show that Padmagupta has chosen to follow the method of Râjaśekhara[15] in describing some incidents in the career of his patron in a romantic and miraculous way, rather than that of Bâṇa, who presents the life of his hero in a more direct, though poetically embellished manner. Padmagupta is not the only follower of Râjaśekhara's method. Soḍḍhala, the author of the *Udayasundarî Kathâ* and Bilhaṇa, who composed the *Vikramâṅkadevacarita*, have followed it in their respective works. As Dr. Bühler has remarked, "the story from the personal history of Sindhurâja, which represents the true object of Padmagupta's work, is unfortunately surrounded with so thick a mythological covering that it is impossible, without the help of accounts containing only sober facts to give particular details with certainty."[16] If we read between the lines

15 See his *Karpûramañjarî* and *Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ*.

16 *I.A.*, XXXVI, p. 171.

however, certain historical facts stand out with prominence. The poem is evidently intended to celebrate Sindhurâja's victory over Vajrâṅkuśa, in which he was aided by a Vidyâdhara prince and a Nâga chieftain, and his matrimonial alliance with the latter. As Dr. Bühler surmised, " the Nâga princess Śaśiprabhâ was nót a snake goddess, but the daughter of a king or chief from the far spread race of Nâga Kshatriyas."[17] To this we might add that the Vidyâdhara prince also is not a semi-divine being. He is evidently a Śilâhâra king; for the Śilâhâras trace their descent from Jîmûtavâhana, the mythical prince of the Vidyâdharas.[18] Vajrâṅkuśa again is not a prince of demons, but a chief of aborigines, perhaps Gonds, whose capital, Ratnavatî, must be looked for in the hilly regions not far from the Narmadâ, for we have a valuable hint for its location in the speech of the river goddess that it lay at a distance of fifty *gavyûtis* or 100 *krośas*, i.e., 150 to 200 English miles, from the place where Sindhurâja crossed the river.[19] After conjecturing the snake princess to be the daughter of a Nâga king of Râjpûtânâ or Central India, Bühler remarked " To venture further on this point is not advisable while we have no assistance from inscriptions."[20] I will now try to identify these kings from inscriptional evidence. From the direct references to Sindhurâja's victories in the *Navasâhasâṅkacarita*, which have been discussed above at the beginning of this article it is clear that this campaign of Sindhurâja must be placed late in his reign, probably towards the end of the first decade of the eleventh century; for he is described in this work as having already vanquished the kings of Kuntala, Kacch, Lâṭa, Aparânta and Kosala, as well as a Hûṇa prince. The poet's description that he had to cross the Narmadâ on the way, shows that the country of Vajrâṅkuśa lay to the south of that river. Similarly the city Bhogavatî of the snake king must be looked for in Pâtâla, i.e., to the south of Mâlwâ. We cannot, therefore, agree with Dr. Bühler who thought that he must be a chief of Râjpûtânâ or Central India. Besides there is no mention of Nâga chiefs in those regions in the records of the eleventh century, while we know from inscriptions that Nâga princes were then reigning in two regions in the Central Provinces, viz., the Kawardha and Bastar States. From the Boramdeo temple inscription[21] we learn that Gopâladeva was ruling in the region now known as the Kawardha State in 1088 A.D. Rai Bahadur Hirâlâl identifies him with the sixth ruler Gopâladeva of the Phaṇi- or Nâgavaṁśa mentioned in the Maṇḍavâ Mahal inscription at Chaurâ.[22] Śaṅkhapâla, the father of Śaśiprabhâ, may have been meant to represent one of the ancestors of Gopâladeva. It is likely that he bore a name ending in *pâla*, as we find several such names of the descendants of Gopâladeva recorded in the Maṇḍavâ Mahal inscription. We know that Sanskrit poets were in the habit of coining names bearing some resemblance to those of their contemporaries who figure in their works.[23] Besides the short distance of the Kawardha state from the slopes of the Vindhya Mountain, where Śaśiprabhâ had gone for sport, would make this hypothesis quite plausible. There are, however, some other considerations against this identification. No inscriptions of the ancestors of Gopâladeva have yet been discovered, and it is not known if any of them was powerful enough to make the matrimonial alliance with him advantageous to Sindhurâja from the political or strategic point of view. We know from the *Navasâhasâṅkacarita* that Sindhurâja had already overrun Kosala, which must be identified with Chattîsgaḍh of modern times. Besides, Gopâladeva uses the Kalacuri era in his inscription, and it is likely that his ancestors

17 *Ibid.*, p. 172.

18 Cf. The Bhândup Plates of Chhittarâjadeva, *E.I.*, XII, p. 250.

19 इतोऽस्ति गव्यूतिशतार्धमात्रं गत्वा पुरी रत्नवतीति नाम्ना । विनिर्मिता शिल्पकलामयेन मयेन या नाकजिगीषयेव ॥ IX, 51.

20 *I.A.*, XXXVI, p. 172.

21 R. B. Hiralal, *List of inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, 2nd ed., p. 174.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 174.

23 See my article on ' Yuvarâjadeva I of Tripurî ' (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, XI, p. 370), where I have shown that the characters Bhâgurâyaṇa and Vîrapâla in the *Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ* are intended to represent Bhâkamiśra and Bappuga, known from Kalacuri and Râṣṭrakûṭa inscriptions.

also were subordinate to the Kalacuris of Tummâṇa. They are not, therefore, likely to have allied themselves with Sindhurâja against their lord, the contemporary Kalacuri king of Tummâṇa, who, as we shall see below, was on the side of his enemy. Lastly they do not, so far as I know, call themselves lords of Bhogavatî, the capital of the Nâga king, to which Śaśiprabhâ was led by Nâgas after her meeting with Sindhurâja. These considerations make the other hypothesis of the identification of Śaṅkhapâla with the ruler of Cakrakoṭya[24] seem probable.

We know that the princes of Cakrakoṭya call themselves Nâgavaṁśis and lords of Bhogavatî.[25] This dynasty produced some powerful kings towards the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century. Their capital, Cakrakûṭa or Cakrakoṭya, often figures in inscriptions, which shows the strategic importance of that territory. The *Vikramâṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa[26] states, for instance, that his hero Vikramâditya VI went to Cakrakûṭa and Kaliṅganagara, evidently to form a triple alliance with the kings of those countries to thwart the ambitious schemes of the contemporary Coḷa king, Vîrarâjendra.[27] What was the object of Sindhurâja in forming the matrimonial alliance recorded in the *Navasâhasâṅkacarita* ? We have seen that soon after his accession Sindhurâja found a favourable opportunity to regain the lost territory from the contemporary Câlukya king. In 1008 A.D. Satyâśraya died. His successors, Daśavarman, Vikramâditya V and Ayyaṇa, who reigned for a short period of seven years (from 1009 to 1015 A.D.) do not seem to have been sufficiently powerful. There was thus no danger of the Paramâra kingdom being invaded by the Câlukyas. But the weakness of the Câlukya kings had added to the strength of Râjarâja the Great and his ambitious successor, Râjendracholadeva I. It was probably to check the onward march of the Coḷa king that Sindhurâja with commendable foresight entered into the matrimonial alliance with the king of Cakrakoṭya.[28]

That alliance must have benefitted the other party also. One of its objects has been explicitly stated in the poem, viz., the subjugation of Vajrâṅkuśa. The demon-king must be none other than Vajjûka[29] (also called Vajuvarman in one record [30]), the lord of Komo Maṇḍala. We know from the Ratanpur inscription of Jâjalladeva I (1114 A.D.) that Vajjûka gave his daughter, Nonallâ, to Ratnadeva.[29] The marriage alliance must have made Ratnadeva very powerful, as is suggested by a passage in the above inscription.[31] Hence we find this lady's name mentioned in the records of Ratnadeva's successors,[32] much in the same way as the name of Kumâradevî is mentioned in Gupta inscriptions. Vajjûka was, therefore, a contemporary of Ratnadeva's father Kamalarâja, who contributed to the prosperity of Gâṅgeyadeva, as described in the Amoda plates of the Haihaya king Pṛithvîrâja.[33] Vajjûka was thus a junior contemporary of Sindhurâja, as we know that Bhoja and Gâṅgeyadeva flourished in the same period.[34] The Nâgavaṁśi kings of Cakrakoṭya were often at war

24 Cakrakoṭya has been satisfactorily identified by R. B. Hîrâlâl with the central portion of the Bastar State. See *List of C. P. Inscriptions*, p. 150.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 146.

26 *Vikramâṅkadevacarita*, IV, 30.

27 *I.A.*, XLVIII, pp. 144-5.

28 This king must be identified with Nṛipatibhûshaṇa, whose inscription is dated 1023 A.D. See Errakoṭ Telugu inscription at Jagdalpur (*List of C. P. Inscriptions*, 2nd ed., p. 166.)

29 कोमोमण्डलभूभर्तुर्वज्जूकस्य श्रुता सुता । नोन्नल्ला रत्नराजेन परिणीता नृपश्रिया ॥ *E.I.*, I, p. 22.

30 नोन्नलाख्या प्रिया तस्य शूरस्येव हि शूरता । कोमोमण्डलनाथस्य सुता या वजुवर्म्मणः ॥ Amoda plates of Pṛithvideva I, *E.I.*, XIX, p. 79.

31 Note नोनल्ला रत्नराजेन परिणीता नृपश्रिया ।

32 Cf. Amoda Plates of Jâjalladeva II, *E.I.*, XIX, p. 209.

33 गाङ्गेयदेवविभवे समदाच्छ्रियं यः । I translate this line as above, differing from the Editor of the Amoda Plates. See *E.I.*, XIX, p. 76.

34 Gâṅgeyadeva was defeated by Bhoja. See Dhar Praśasti of Arjunavarmadeva, *E.I.*, VIII, p. 96.

with the Kalacuris of Ratanpur. We know, for instance, that Jâjalladeva I of Ratanpur[35] and Someśvara of Cakrakoṭya[36] claim victory over each other. It is, therefore, likely that at this period also the ruling princes of the two dynasties were on inimical terms and, therefore, the Nâga chief sought the aid of Sindhurâja against Kamalarâja and his ally Vajjûka of the Komo Maṇḍala.

The identification of Vajjûka with Vajrâṅkuśa is rendered probable by the mention of the hermitage of the sage Vaṅku, which lay on the way to Ratnavatî, the capital of Vajrâṅkuśa. Dr. Bühler[37] proposed to connect the name Vaṅku of the sage with the geographical name Vaṅku of the Nâgpur *praśasti*, verse 54. The two have no connection whatever, for Vaṅkshu (as read by Kielhorn) mentioned in that verse of the *praśasti* is the name of a river of the north, on the banks of which, softened with filaments of saffron, the king of the Kîra country is said to have been taught to sing the praises of the Paramâra king Lakṣmaṇadeva,[38] while the hermitage of the sage Vaṅku was situated, as we have seen, to the south of the Narmadâ. It is noteworthy that the late Prof. Kielhorn, who has edited the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, followed Lassen in reading Vaṅkshu, and not Vaṅku as proposed by Dr. Bühler. I connect the name of the sage with that of the god Vaṅkeśvara, whose temple was erected in Tummâṇa before the time of Ratnadeva.[39] Knowing, as we do, that the names of deities are often derived from those of the individuals who erect temples in their honour,[40] it is easy to conjecture that the temple of Vaṅkeśvara may have been erected by some one named Vaṅku, and he may well have been a sage as stated in the *Navasâhasâṅkacarita*. We can at least infer that the idea of locating the hermitage of a sage named Vaṅku must have suggested itself to the poet when he heard of the temple of Vaṅkeśvara in Tummâṇa. This temple was so well-known that Tummâṇa, where it was situated, is called in one record Vaṅko-Tummâṇa.[41]

We know that a son of Kokkalla I of Tripurî founded a kingdom in Tummâṇa. From a remark in a charter of Jâjalladeva I it appears that his descendants had to desert it after some time.[42] It appears that towards the close of the tenth century Kaliṅgarâja, a scion of the same dynasty, again occupied Tummâṇa and made it his capital. The place was, therefore, a flourishing one in the time of Sindhurâja, and it is not surprising that the latter occupied it before marching on Ratnavatî, the capital of Vajrâṅkuśa, which must have been situated not far from it. The close similarity between the names Ratnavatî and modern Ratanpur in Chattîsgaḍh, tempts one to identify the two. From the records of the Kalacuris of Ratanpur we know, however, that Ratanpur was founded by Ratnadeva or Ratnarâja,[43] the son-in-law of Vajjûka, and if this statement is correct it could not have been in existence at this period. Beglar[44] has recorded a tradition current in Ratanpur that the place was, in ancient times, called Maṇipura, which is mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* as the capital of a Nâga king by whose daughter, Chitrâṅgadâ, Arjuna had a brave son named Babhruvâhana.[45] As our poet has slightly changed the names of persons and places figuring

35 See Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Jâjalladeva, *E.I.*, I, p. 32.

36 *E.I.*, X, pp. 25 f.

37 *I.A.*, XLVIII, p. 172.

38 Nagpur Praśasti, *E.I.*, II, p. 182.

39 Cf. श्रीवंकेशसुरालयप्रभृतयो रत्नेश्वराद्यास्तथा । यत्रोद्यानमसङ्ख्यपुष्पसुफलं चारूच्चमाम्रं वनम् । रत्नेशेन ससौधसद्मनिचितश्चारुश्रिया भूषितस्तुम्माणः समकारि लोचनसुखः संवीक्ष्यमाणो जनैः ॥ *E.I.*, I, p. 32.

40 Compare, e.g., Nohaleśvara dedicated by Nohalâ, the wife of Yuvarâjadeva I of Tripurî.

41 त्रिपुरीशानुजस्यासीद्वंकोतुम्माणभूभुजः । कलिंगराजस्तत्सूनुरासीत् कमलराड् नृपः । A copper-plate of Ratnadeva II, *Ind. His. Quarterly* IV, p. 31.

42 राजधानी स तुम्माणः पूर्वजैः कृत इत्यतः । तत्रस्थोऽरिक्षयं कुर्वन् वर्द्धयामास स श्रियम् ॥ *E.I.*, I, p. 32.

43 Cf. व्यधाप्यन्मां भुवि रत्नराजः श्रेष्ठीयशश्चेदधितिष्ठति स्म। वक्तीत्यदो रत्नपुरं समन्तान्मत्तोऽनयोर्यातु यशस्त्रिलोकम्। *ibid.*, p. 32.

44 *A.S.I.* Cunningham's Reports, vol. X, p. 216.

45 Cf. *Âdiparvan*, *adhyâya* 215. and *Âśvamedhika parvan*, *ad.* 95 (Bom. Ed.)

in his narrative, Ratnavatî in the *Navasâhasânkacarita* may represent ancient Maṇipura which received its modern name when, in the next generation, Ratnadeva transferred his capital there from Tummâṇa. Ratanpur is at a distance of about 45 miles from Tummâṇa and must have been included in the Komo Maṇḍala; the name of the latter has survived in the modern place-name Komo, which is about 30 miles north of Ratanpur. We do not know exactly the route Sindhurâja took in marching on Ratnavatî, or the place where he crossed the Narmadâ. If he crossed it somewhere near Mândhâtâ,[46] Ratanpur would be about 200 miles distant from the river as described in Padmagupta's poem.

It now remains to say a few words about the identification of the Vidyâdhara prince, Śikhaṇḍaketu, who sent his son Śaśikhaṇḍa with a large army to help Sindhurâja in his campaign. As we have seen above, Arikesarin probably owed his crown to the active help of Sindhurâja. Feelings of gratitude may have induced him to send his son with military assistance. The name Śikhaṇḍaketu is evidently suggested by the other name of Arikesarin, viz., Keśideva, which occurs in the Bhândup plates of his nephew Chittarâjadeva.

Sindhurâja seems to have died soon after this expedition. He was succeeded by his son Bhoja. According to Merutuṅga, Bhoja reigned for the long period of fifty-five years. He must, therefore, have come to the throne when quite young. It seems that Arikesarin[47] also died about this period and was succeeded not by his son (that he had one is clear from the *Navasâhasânkacarita*), but by his nephew, Chittarâjadeva, who must have usurped the throne, knowing full well that the young prince Bhoja of Dhârâ would not undertake a campaign in such a distant country as Koṅkaṇa to help the son of his father's friend, Arikesarin. Subsequent events proved that Chittarâja had miscalculated; for Bhoja invaded Koṅkaṇa in 1019 A.D. and won a decisive victory, which he commemorated by issuing two copper-plates. This campaign of Bhoja, when he was scarcely out of his teens, has puzzled many scholars. Mr. C. V. Vaidya writes: "Why Bhoja fought with Koṅkaṇa in his early age does not appear (he must have been about twenty at the time) and how he went so far from his kingdom remains to be solved, though the fact of the conquest cannot be denied." Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[48] thinks that the expedition was undertaken to avenge the murder of Muñja. This reason does not, however, appear convincing, as Muñja was murdered about 995 A.D., while the expedition took place in 1019 A.D., i.e., twenty-four years later. Even supposing that Bhoja's object was to avenge the murder of his uncle, why should he invade Koṅkaṇa? The rulers of Koṅkaṇa do not seem to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the later Câlukyas. As stated above, their copper-plates give the genealogy, not of the later Câlukyas but of the Râṣṭrakûtas, and express regret for their downfall. We prefer, therefore, to account for this campaign as suggested above. The Betma plates show that Bhoja occupied Koṅkaṇa for a while, and he may have placed Arikesarin's son on the throne, but the latter seems to have been soon dethroned by the Câlukya king Jayasiṁha III, who conquered Koṅkaṇa before 1024 A.D., evidently to place Chittarâja again on the throne. The Bhândup plates of the latter show that he was secure on the throne in 1026 A.D.

Inscriptional evidence has thus corroborated in all important details the account of Sindhurâja's expedition in Chattîsgaḍh as given in Padmagupta's *Navasâhasânkacarita*.

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46 It may be noted that some records of the Paramâras were issued after bathing in the Narmadâ at this holy place. To the east of Mândhâtâ lay the country of Cedi, which Sindhurâja does not seem to have entered on this occasion.

47 His Thana plates are dated in Śaka 939, i.e., 1017 A.D.

48 *I.A.*, XLI, p. 201.

LALLÂ-VÂKYÂNI.

(The Wise Sayings of Lâl Dĕd.)

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, SRINAGAR, KASHMIR.

(Continued from vol. LXI, p. 16.)

In addition to those 'Wise Sayings of Lâl Dĕd' published in the Royal Asiatic Society's Monograph entitled *Lallâ-Vâkyâni* by Sir George Grierson and Dr. L. D. Barnett, which were rendered into English verse by the late lamented Sir R. C. Temple, Bt., I have already published in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* (*vide* vols. LIX, LX and LXI) some sixty others that I managed to collect from time to time. Further research has enabled me to discover fifteen more sayings of this prophetess, which I now publish.

(1) *Âgaray grazum ; wuga-wâney ḍûr sagûmo ;*
Oraki kripâyi zagat wuzum , yora ti keṅk mĕ surum no.

I roared [like a river] at the source ; I irrigated the field with flood-water.
By the mercy of That Side (i.e., God) the world got awakened ; [yet] on my part I did not meditate on anything.

(2) *Damiy ḍyûṭhum shabnam piwân ; damiy ḍyûṭhum piwân sûr ;*
Damiy ḍîṭham anighaṭa râtas, damiy ḍyûṭhum dohas nûr ;
Damiy âsas lokaṭ korâ ; damiy sapanis jawânâ pûr ;
Damiy âsas pherân thorân ; damiy sapanis dazit sûr.

At one time I saw dew falling ; at another time I saw hoar-frost falling ;
At one time I saw the darkness of night ; at another time I saw the light of the day ;
At one time I was a young girl ; at another time I was a full-grown damsel ;
At one time I was moving about ; at another time I was burned to ashes.

[The meaning is that nothing lasts in this transitory world.]

(3) *Kawa chuk diwân aniney batsh ?*
Truk ay chuk ta andaray atsh.
Shiva chuy ati tay kun mo gatsh ;
Sahaza ! kathi myâni karto patsh.

Why art thou feeling with thy hand like a blind person ?
If thou art wise get inside.
Śiva is there ; do not go anywhere else ;
Friend ! put thy trust in my word.

(4) *Kus, ha mâli ! lûsuy na pakân pakân ?*
Kus, ha mâli ! lûsuy na wulgân Sumeru ?
Kus, ha mâli ! lûsuy na marân ta zĕwân ?
Kus, ha mâli ! lûsuy na karân nindâ ?
Zal, ha mâli ! lûsuy na pakân pakân.
Surya lûsuy na wulgân Sumeru.
Tsandrama lûsuy na marân ta zĕwân.
Manosh lûsuy na karân nindâ.

Who, O father ! is not tired of going [and] going ?
Who, O father ! is not tired of going round Sumeru ?

Who, O father ! is not tired of dying and being reborn ?
Who, O father ! is not tired of backbiting ?
Water [in a river] is not tired of going [and] going (i.e., flowing perpetually).
The sun is not tired of going round Sumeru.
The moon is not tired of dying and being reborn (i.e., of waning and waxing).
Man is not tired of backbiting.

(5) *Lal bu drâyas dorey dorey*
Quluf thavit wachas ;
Yus nun nerey su phuṭ krerey ;
Khyun diyton Yachas !

I, Lallâ, wandered from lane to lane
With breast locked up (i.e., silent) :
Whoever showed himself got drowned in a well ;
Let him be devoured by a Yaksha !

(6) *Na pyâyas ta na zâyas,*
Na khĕyam hand na shonṭh.
Shan chas pata tay
Satan chas bronṭh.

I neither gave birth to a child nor was I born ;
I neither ate endive nor ginger.
I am behind six [enemies, namely, lust, wrath, desire, arrogance, delusion and jealousy].
Ahead of truthful persons.

(7) *Ora ti Pânay, yora ti Pânay ;*
Patay wânay rozi na zâh.
Pânay Gupt ta Pânay Gyânîy ;
Pânay Pânas mûd na zâh

That side He (i.e., God) is Himself ; this side, too, He is Himself .
He never remained behind.
He is Himself Invisible and Himself Omniscient ;
He never died to Himself (i.e., is Everlasting and Omnipotent)

(8) *Ora ti Pânay ; yora ti Pânay ;*
Pânay Pânas chu na melân.
Pratham atsĕs na muley dânay :
Suy, ha mâli ! chay âshcar zân.

That side He is Himself ; this side (i.e., as man) he is Himself ;
He Himself (as man) does not join with Himself.
In the first place not even a grain will penetrate into Him (He being so infinitesimal) :
That is, O father ! a wonderful knowledge.

(9) *Sat-sangay pavitra dhorum ;*
Navi sati rûzas trapurit bar ;
Dashi dashamiy dvâr prazalovum ;
Ikâdashi tsandramas karam lay.

Dwâdashi mandala dĕh shamrovum,
Triyodashi tribeniy nâvam kây,
Tsaturdashi tsudâh bhavan shamâvum,
Purna-pantsadashi tsandran karum uday.
Akdoh bhogiy pân sandârum.
Rasati rûzas kalpan trâvit—
Suy, ha mali ! karam putlĕn pûz.

By association with the good I tied on the *kuśa* grass [for the purification of my finger] ;
On the ninth [day] I truly stayed with doors closed ;
On the tenth I lit the tenth house,
On the eleventh I made acquaintance with the moon ;
On the twelfth disc I subdued my body ;
On the thirteenth I washed my body at the confluence of three rivers ;
On the fourteenth I subdued fourteen worlds ;
On the fifteenth I found the moon rise ;
On the first I gave sustenance to myself.
I peacefully remained with cares cast away—
That, O father ! was my worship of idols.[1]

(10) *Treshi buchi mo kreshanâwun ;*
Yâni tshiy tâni sandhârun dĕh.
Phrit cânis dhârun ta pârun ?
Kar upakârun suy chay kriy.

Do not make thyself crave [for water and food] by thirst and hunger ;
As soon as thou becomest depressed, refresh thyself.
Fie upon thy fasting and the breaking of thy fast !
Do good to others, *that* is thy duty.

(11) *Tsâlun chu wuzamala ta tratay ;*
Tsâlun chu mendinĕn ghatakâr ;
Tsâlun chu pân panun kadun gratay—
Hĕta, mâli, santosh ; wâti pânay.

To endure is lightning and thunderbolt ;
To endure is darkness at midday ;
To endure is to sift one's self through a grinding-mill—
Be, O father ! content ; (what is destined to come) will come of itself.

(12) *Tsay, Deva, gartas ta dhartiy srazak ;*
Tsay, Deva, ditit kranzan prân ;
Tsay, Deva, thani rustuy wazak.
Kus zâni, Deva, con parimân ?

Thou, O Lord ! pervadest the whole as well as the universe ;
Thou, O Lord ! gavest life to bodies ;
Thou, O Lord ! ringest without pealing.
Who can, O Lord ! know thy proportions ?

[1] In this saying Lallâ speaks of different stages reached within herself while practising *yoga* on successive days.

(13) *Umay âdi tay Umay surum :*
Umay thurum panun pân.
Anit trâvit Nit ay bhâsum :
Tavay provum Paramsthân.

The syllable *Om* is the beginning, and I meditated on *Om* ;
I made myself with *Om*.
Having left the perishable [body], I found the Imperishable (God) :
By doing that I attained the Supreme Abode.

(14) *Yati buh gayis tati ol Suh ;*
Tati ḍyûṭhum Mol Suh.
Kanan tshanit wol Suh ;
Suh tay Suh, Suh tay Suh ;
Suy Suh, tay buh kusuh.

Where I went there He is ;
There I saw That Father (God).
He has got rings in His ears ;
He and He, He and He ;
He is He, and who am I ?

(15) *Zanam prâvit viboh na tshoḍum :*
Loban, bhogan bharam na priy ;
Sumuy âhâr seṭhâ zonum :
Tsolum dukh, wâv, polum Day.

Having taken birth, I searched not aggrandisement ;
Desires [and] enjoyments I liked not ;
I considered moderate food enough ;
I bore pain [and] poverty, [and] worshipped God.

RANDOM NOTES ON THE TRIVANDRUM PLAYS.

BY E. H. JOHNSTON, D.LITT.

(*Continued from p. 99, supra.*)

II.

In the following notes I quote in full the passage discussed and as a rule Professors Woolner and Sarup's translation, taking the plays in the order in which they appear in the latter.

Pratijñâyaugandharâyaṇa, Act i, p. 13. *Haṁsakaḥ — Tado paccâadappâṇaṁ dâṇi bhaṭṭâraṁ pekkhia aṇeṇa mama bhâdâ hado, aṇeṇa mama pidâ, aṇeṇa mama sudo, mama vaassa tti aṇṇahâ bhaṭṭiṇo parakkamaṁ vaṇṇaantâ savvado abhiddudâ de pâvâ.*

A famous passage, and one of the very few where the translators have gone palpably wrong. The point lies in the use of *anyathâ* in the sense of 'falsely,' for which there is plenty of authority. An amusing play on the double meaning occurs in *Mattavilâsa*. p. 7 : Devasomâ objects to the Kapâlin's description of the road to salvation, *Bhaavaṁ ṇaṁ tahâ bhaṇidavvaṁ. Aghante mokkhamaggaṁ aṇṇahâ vaṇṇaanti*, 'The saints describe the road to salvation differently.' The Kapâlin deliberately takes her to mean *aṇṇahâ* in the sense of 'falsely' and replies, *Bhadre te khalu mithyâdṛṣṭayaḥ*, 'Quite so, my dear, their views are wrong.' The meaning of the passage above is that the wretches ran up on all sides towards the king, misrepresenting his valour by saying, 'He murdered my brother,' etc.

Ib., Act iii, p. 47. The Vidûṣaka says he has seen the king in prison. The scene proceeds :—

Yaug.—Hanta bhoḥ. Atikrântayogakṣemâ râtriḥ. Divasa idânîṁ pratipâlyate.

Ahaḥ samuttîrya niśâ pratîkṣyate
śubhe prabhâte divaso 'nucintyate |
Anâgatârthâny aśubhâni paśyatâṁ
gataṁ gataṁ kâlam avekṣya nirvṛtiḥ ||

Rum.—Samyag bhavân âha. Tulye 'pi kâlaviśeṣe niśaiva bahudoṣâ bandhaneṣu. Kutaḥ,

Vyavahâreṣv asâdhyânâṁ loke vâpratirajyatâm |
Prabhâte dṛṣṭadoṣânâṁ vairiṇâṁ rajanî bhayam ||

Tr., I, 25. 'Yaug.—Alas ! There is no security at night. Now we must wait for the day. When the day is over, we look for the night : When the dawn is bright, we look forward to the day. Our satisfaction to see time ever passing, must see in troubles the advantages that are to come.

Rum.—Well said. Though time is all alike, the night is full of obstructions. For

The night is a terror to foes who cannot succeed in their enterprises, or are unpopular in the world and find out their error in the morning.'

The translators suggest that this enigmatic passage is out of place and should come at the end of the act, but there is no obvious place to insert it there, and I think it can be so understood as to fit in here, remembering that it comes after a long passage in which the three disguised characters have been speaking in elaborate riddles, which were ingeniously explained by Ganapati Sastri, so as not to be understood by casual hearers. The editor's gloss on this passage is far from clear to me, but I accept his interpretation of some of the words. The time is in the early afternoon and the reference to night and day must therefore be understood to be metaphorical ; by 'night' I take Yaugandharâyaṇa to refer to the time during which the conspirators have been lying in concealment without seeing the king, who has all the time been in great danger of his life. The compound *atikrântayogakṣemâ* is difficult, and I can find no analogy to the translators' construction of it. If the text is not corrupt (e.g., it would be easier to read *atikrântâ sayogakṣemaṁ râtriḥ*), it would seem preferable to take *atikrânta* in the same sense as in *atikrântavigraha* in Act ii, p. 36, lit. 'the night has its security in the past,' i.e., 'is safely over.' Similarly the 'day' is the time for action and *pratipâlyate* should be understood as parallel with *pratîkṣyate* and *anucintyate* in the verse ; that is, 'the time for action is now awaited' means 'we must think about action now.' *Hanta* then can be taken in its ordinary acceptation, not in the rare sense of 'Alas !' To put it in plain language, the minister says, 'Up, my friends ; our time of concealment and worst danger is over and the king is still safe. So far so good ; now we must consider our plans of action.' This provides the cue for his next speeches, in which he questions Vasantaka about the king's state, in order to ascertain the possibilities of the situation.

If this interpretation is correct, the verse should agree in sentiment. *Samuttîrya* implies passing successfully and *anucint* does not mean 'look forward to,' but 'ponder on.' The drift of the first hemistich is : after one has passed the day successfully, i.e., had a period of fortune, one expects the night, a time of danger and difficulty ; when the dawn comes without the danger having materialised (*śubha*), one takes thought for the day, i.e., as it is the period of action, plans are to be made for action then. In the second half the troublesome word is *anâgatârtha*, where I think *artha* must mean 'occasion,' i.e., 'whose occasions are still in the future.' Translate therefore, 'To those, who foresee evils in the womb of the future, to observe the mere passing of time (without the evils being realised) is in itself bliss.'

Rumaṇvat, who is an honest, thickheaded fighting man, is naturally all at sea with this, hard saying and, taking it literally, comments, 'Quite true. To people in prison, though

all time is alike to them, the night in particular is full of danger.' *Doṣa* in the sense of 'danger,' 'evil consequence,' is well authenticated and occurs twice more in this play and not infrequently in th *Buddhacarita*; there may be a pun also, *bahudoṣâ*, 'very dark.' The following verse must be so explained as to illustrate this statement. In the first place *vairin* does not mean exactly 'foe,' but a 'man who has an enmity or feud with someone else'; thus *DC*, i, 6, *nirvairâ vimukhîbhavanti suhṛdaḥ*, 'without cause of enmity, etc.,' and *Dhûrtaviṭasaṁvâda*, p. 11, *pârthivânâm . . . anyonyabaddhavairâṇâm*. The second line therefore means, 'The night is dangerous to men who have a feud with anyone else, since by daylight they can see (and avoid) sources of trouble.' The first line then defines the daylight dangers which they can avoid. *Vyavahâra* means here not 'enterprise' but 'lawsuit,' and *asâdhya*, which surely cannot have an active meaning, is used in the pejorative sense of *sâdhaya* so common in the *Kauṭ. Arthaśâstra* (see Meyer's translation, p. 528, n. 5); cf. also *Dûtaghaṭotkaca*, 51, *pâruṣyasâdhya*, and *Saundarananda*, ix, 13, *mantrasâdhya*. The English equivalent is hard to find, 'do down,' 'remove from one's path,' 'ruin,' etc. *Apratirajyatâm* is difficult, for *raj* does not occur with *prati* according to the *PW* except once in the causative and in any case it must mean, not 'unpopular,' but 'who take no pleasure in.' One could divide *vâ prati°*, but in either case it is not clear to me how by taking or not taking pleasure in the world one avoids the danger of a vendetta. *°Rajyatâm* is the editor's emendation for *°rajjatâm* and I would prefer the conjecture, equally good palæographically, of *vâ pratirâjatâṁ*: even so the *PW* gives only one reference for *râj* with *prati*. It is notoriously dangerous to kill prominent people openly for fear of causing disaffection. The first line therefore means that daylight dangers do not trouble men 'who are not to be worsted in the law-courts or who stand much in the world's eye.'

The passage is one of great difficulty and certainty is impossible, but I think my construction of it keeps closer to ordinary Sanskrit usage and fits the context exactly.

Ib., Act iv, p. 62. *Nirodhamuktâ iva kṛṣṇasarpâḥ.*

Tr., I, p. 30. 'Like snakes that have just sloughed their skins.'

I can find no authority for the use of *nirodha* in the sense of 'snake's skin' and do not see why it should not be taken in the ordinary meaning of 'confinement' (cf. iv, 10, and 12 in this play). Snakes when captured are put in a pot and often show signs of great activity, if let loose. Once I had the fortune to be present when a party of Naṭs brought in a number of snakes in chatties for despatch to Kasauli, and to witness their transfer from the pots to a travelling box; a ticklish operation when a lively hamadryad (king cobra) was in question, who for two hours kept attacking all the operators, before he could be boxed. This experience is apposite; for *kṛṣṇasarpa* apparently can only indicate a hamadryad. The confining of snakes in pots is an old Indian custom, referred to at *Saundarananda*, xv, 56 (cf. *ib.*, ix, 12, and note thereon in my translation). These last passages refer to the activity and wrathfulness of snakes in such circumstances, and make my explanation of the simile more probable.

Svapnavâsavadatta, iv, p. 36. *Vidûṣakaḥ* — (*ûrdhvam avalokya*) *hî hî saraakâlaṇimmale antarikkhe pasâiabaḷadevabâhudaṁsaṇîaṁ sarasapantiṁ jâva samâhidaṁ gacchantiṁ pekkhadu dâva bhavaṁ.*

Ganapati Sastri's later edition for students is not available to me, but I find that later Indian editions read *pasâdiabaladeva°* and the translators accept this text, I, 53:—'Jester.—(Looking up) Oh, look, your Highness! Do you see this line of cranes advancing steadily along the clear autumn sky, as beautiful as the long white arms of the adored Baladeva?'

It will be noted that the words 'long white' are added by the translators to make the comparison clear. Now this passage is clearly a reference to *Saundarananda*, x, 8:—

Bahvâyate tatra site hi śṛṅge
saṁkṣiptabarhaḥ śayito mayûraḥ |

Bhuje Balasyâyatapînabâhor
vaidûryakeyûra iva babhâse ||

That it is put into the mouth of the Vidûṣaka shows that Bhâsa is criticizing (with justice, be it said) Aśvaghosa's comparison as a frigid conceit. This verse contains the word *âyata* twice and, as the translation shows, we want in the *SV* some word meaning 'long,' 'outstretched,' to make the comparison clear. Further *pasâdia°* (*prasâdita°*) seems to me very odd in the context, and I think therefore that Ganapati Sastri was on the right lines when he gave *prasârita* as the *châyâ* for *pasâia* in the original edition. Only his text wants correction to *pasârida°* ; this is the word always used for outstretched arms. The curious position of the participle in the compound may well have puzzled the copyist and led to an emendation.

Bhâsa refers quite clearly twice elsewhere to Aśvaghoṣa's poems, viz., at *PY*, i, 18, to *Buddhacarita*, xiii, 60 (cf. *Saundarananda*, xvi, 97), as pointed out by Ganapati Sastri, and in the well-known verse quoted from the *SV* by Abhinavagupta, the place of which has now been determined (Thomas, *JRAS*, 1928, 887 ff.), to *Buddhacarita*, i, 79, as pointed out by Morgenstierne (*Über das Verhältnis zwischen Cârudatta und Mṛcchakaṭikâ*, p. 14, n. 2). The latter comparison proves that *taḍanena* is correct in the Bhâsa verse, for it = Aśvaghoṣa's *°tâḍena*, the exact meaning of which I shall discuss in the edition of the *Buddhacarita* which I hope to bring out in due course. There are several passages in the other plays, particularly in the *DC*, which recall Aśvaghoṣa, but the ideas and forms of expression are found too often elsewhere to be safe evidence of direct allusion to the Buddhist poet.

This passage of the *SV* illustrates Bhâsa's fondness for subtle allusion and shows that he relied on the education and quick wits of his audience to take up the point at once. Another, not obvious, joke is to be found at the beginning of Act iv, p. 29 (tr., I, 51), when the Vidûṣaka says he is so well off in the palace of the king of Magadha that he might be experiencing all the joys of *anaccharasaṁvâso Uttarakuruvâso*. It is true that the land of the Uttarakurus is an earthly paradise, famed for its pleasures of the table and of love, but the jester has mixed up his mythology. The Apsarases live among the gods in Paradise, not among the Uttarakurus, who have their own special women.

Daridracârudatta, Act ii, p. 45. *Ceṭaḥ - Haṁ, vippaḷaddho hmi, vâdâaṇaṇikkhâmidapuvvakâûe oṇamiapaoharâe kaṇṇaûrassa paripphando ajjuâe jeṇa na diṭṭho.*

Gaṇikâ - Lahujaṇassa sulaho vihmao. kiṁ de usseassa kâraṇaṁ.

Tr., I, p. 88. 'Page.—Oh, I am so disappointed that my mistress did not see Karṇapûra's valiant deed. If only she had seen, leaning forward from the casement with bosom bowed . . .

Courtesan.—Feather-headed people are easily amazed. What is the cause of your excitement ?'

This translation follows the indication afforded by the *Mṛcchakaṭikâ*, which gives the page's name as Karṇapûra, but seems to me to miss the point. In the first place the meaning 'valiant deed' for *parispanda* is based on a passage in the *Pañcarâtra*, which I explain below, and is opposed to the regular use of the word. As it is not adequately dealt with in the dictionaries, a few quotations of its use may be made. It is specially used in philosophical works, replacing the earlier *vispanda*, which means 'activity,' 'movement.' The latter is only found in Buddhist sources, e.g., in Pali, *Dîgha*, I, 40, *paritasitavipphanditaṁ*, *Atthasâlinî*, 323, and *Visuddhimagga*, 448, *kâyavipphandana*, and in Buddhist Sanskrit, *Buddhacarita*, xiv, 22, *karmabhiḥ . . cittavispandasambhavaiḥ*, *Jâtakamâlâ* v 18. *svabuddhivispandasamâhitena . . karmaṇâ*, and xxvi, 40, *manovâkkâyavispandaiḥ*, *Śatasahasrikâprajñâpâramitâ*, 67, *sarvasattvacittacaritavispanditâni*, *Mûlamadhyamakakârikâs*, 307, *l.* 10, *vispandaḥ śarîraceṣṭâ*. The MBh. substitutes *nispanda* for it at xii, 12704 and 12780. Later *parispanda* took its place and is used as a synonym for *kriyâ* in the Vaiśeṣika sense, but limited to the mental or physical motion of an individual. Thus Vâcaspati Miśra on *Yogasûtra*, i, 9, denies

parispanda to *puruṣa*, and on *Sâmkhyakârikâ*, 10, defines *sakriyam* as *parispandavat*: similarly Kumârila in the *Âtmavâda* section, 74 ff., of the *Ślokavârttika*. The later Buddhist philosophers do the same; e.g., *Triṁśikâ*, p. 32, l. 21, *cetanâyâś cittaparispandâtmakatvât*, and *Abhidharmakośa*, vol. V, 280, n. 2, *parispandam akurvad api*. These quotations prove that *parispanda* does not mean an actual deed, but a movement of the body or mind, activity or motion, *kriyâ*, as opposed to act, *karma*. Therefore when *PR*, Act ii, p. 32 (tr., I, 128), has *dṛṣṭaparispandânâṁ yodhapuruṣâṇâṁ karmâṇi*, we must translate 'the deeds of the warriors whose activity has been witnessed.'

It is not justifiable to assign any meaning here to *parispanda*, which is not consistent with this range of meanings, but we are forced to do so if Karṇapûra is a proper name. But need it be so? It does not occur again in the *DC*, and if it were not for the later play, surely we should all construe, 'Oh, I am disappointed that I did not see (lit. by whom was not seen) the shaking of my mistress's ear-ornament, as she leant, etc.' He kills two birds with one stone, by implying, not only how much he has lost by his mistress's not seeing him, but also how excited she would have been to see him. This translation gives a more natural sense to *yena* and one might compare *Pratimânâṭaka*, iv, 22, *yena . . na dṛṣṭaḥ*. Śûdraka's version, which spoils the point by reproducing the second intention only of the page, has also the same construction, *vancidâ si jâe ajja kaṇṇaûraassa parakkamo na diṭṭho*. Though there seems to me no reasonable doubt of the correctness of my rendering, the explanation is incomplete unless we can account for the change in the *Mṛcchakaṭikâ*. It is perhaps significant that *Avi.*, Act iii, p. 34, has the term *kaṇṇâûraceḍa* (MSS. *kaṇṇeura°*) for a 'harem servant' and that *kaṇṇeûrassa* is a variant reading of the passage under discussion. Possibly in Śûdraka's text of the *DC kaṇṇâûrassa* had been corrupted to *kaṇṇâûraassa*, which might be understood as equivalent to *kaṇṇâûraceḍa*, and he may have objected to giving a courtesan's servant such a title and therefore turned it into a fanciful proper name. The *Mṛcchakaṭikâ* does not always darken counsel as here, but is sometimes able to suggest a correction of the *DC*'s text. Thus, following Filippo-Belloni (*Festgabe Jacobi*, 133), at Act iii, p. 57, where the MSS. offer the alternative readings, *bhûṣyam* and *draṣṭavyam*, the two should be combined on the authority of the later play to *bhûmiṣṭhaṁ dravyam*. Again at Act i, p. 18, Vasantasenâ says it is specially dark by the side-door *asambhoamaliṇadâe*, which can only mean 'because it is dirty (obscure?) from lack of use.' Probably however it is corrupt, the phrase recurring in a more natural sense at Act iv, p. 84, and being transferred here by error. Śûdraka has altered the sentence somewhat, but I infer from his reading that his text of the *DC* had *asaṁjoamaliṇadâe*, 'because it is dark where there is a break in the wall (for the door).' The wall would be white and the door would make a darker patch in the night.

The grandiloquent terms of the servant's speech suggest that the author is taking off a similar description in some *kâvya*, such as *Saundarananda*, vi, 2, *sâ . . . gavâkṣam âkramya payodharâbhyâm . . harmyatalâl lalambe mukhena tiryaṅnatakuṇḍalena*, or cf. *Dhûrtaviṭasaṁvâda*, p. 5, l. 11. Probably such a description was a commonplace in *kâvya* and we can hardly identify any particular original now. It is the inappropriateness of such language in the servant's mouth that determines the tenor of the courtesan's reply. *Vismaya* means 'arrogance,' and the sense is, 'Feather-headed people soon get bumptious. What's the reason for your highfaluting (or bombast)?'

Ib., Act iii, 6. Sajjalaka defending theft says:—

Kâmaṁ nîcam idaṁ vadantu vibudhâḥ supteṣu yad vartate
viśvasteṣu hi vañcanâparibhavaḥ śauryam na kârkaśyatâ |
Svâdhînâ vacanîyatâpi tu varaṁ baddho na sevâñjalir
mârgaś caiṣa narendrasuptikavadhe pûrvaṁ kṛto Drauṇinâ ||

Tr., I, 91:—

'Let the wiseacres call it low, this business when folks are asleep, for the shame of cheating those that are trustful comes from daring, not cruelty. Independence though of ill

report is better far than the folded hands of servility. This was the road that was taken of old by Droṇa's son when he slew the sleeping kings.'

Two of the words require some explanation. *Paribhava*, 'shame,' is hardly possible, the proper meaning being 'contempt,' 'insult.' I would prefer to take it to the earlier use of *paribhû*, not uncommon in the epics and occurring in this very play at iii, 4, in the sense of 'master,' 'get the better of.' *Paribhava* is not recorded in this sense, except possibly at *Saptaśataka* (ed. Weber), 366, but there is no reason why it should not have it. The compound therefore should mean 'getting the better of by deceitful means.' *Kârkaśyatâ* is an odd form; the meaning of 'cruel' for *karkaśa* only appears in the later lexica and is due apparently to a misunderstanding of the statement that *krûra* and *karkaśa* are both synonyms for 'hard' (e.g., cf. the *Amarakośa*). The proper meaning is 'firm,' 'hard'; in the *Râmâyaṇa* it often signifies 'steadfast' in battle, and it is common later, especially in erotic literature, of the firmness of women's bodies or the hardness of their minds. One possible meaning here is therefore 'hardness of mind,' 'insensibility to moral issues,' and *atikarkaśa* is so used in the next verse. The alternative is to apply the *Amarakośa*'s synonym of *sâhasika*, 'one who does deeds of violence,' more particularly 'a robber' as opposed to a thief, who avoids violence (cf. Meyer's translation of the *Kauṭ. Arthaśâstra*, p. 801, note on 303, 37). Sajjalaka calls his theft *sâhasa* in the next act, p. 74, and *sâhasika*, Act ii, p. 37, means 'robber.'

Turning now to the construction, I see only one way of interpreting the verse, as it stands; for I agree with the translators in rejecting Ganapati Sastri and Morgenstierne's solution of construing *śauryaṁ na bhavati, kârkaśyatâ bhavati*. The construction with *kâmam* is unusually frequent in this play, occurring twice again, at i, 13, without any corresponding particle in the main sentence, and at i, 18, where *hi* introduces the main sentence. If Śûdraka's text read *hi* in this latter passage, he found it difficult, for his corresponding verse reads *tu*. *Hi* may govern the whole sentence, i.e., 'Vasantasenâ, you are perceived now; for, although you are not seen in the dark . . . , your perfume . . will betray you.' Alternatively it may be taken as introducing the speaker's asseveration against somebody else's belief or argument, a usage not uncommon in the dialogue of plays, but generally coupled with *tena* and never elsewhere following *kâmam*, i.e., 'though (you think) you are not seen in the dark . ., (I say) your perfume, etc.' This would do here, 'although the wiseacres call it . . ., I say it is heroism, not violence.' In the other plays *PN*, iii, 5, has the regular *kâmam* . . *tu*, but *Dûtaghaṭotkaca*, 14, *kâmam* . . *hi*, unfortunately in a verse, the sense of which in its context is not clear to me (the difficulty lies in *tulyarûpam*, whose equivalence to *yuktarûpam*, as suggested by the editor, is impossible in itself and reduces the verse to nonsense).

But I regard this method of interpreting the verse as doubtful, and it has the disadvantage of not explaining *tu* in the third *pâda*, while the fourth *pâda* follows clumsily on the third, being rather an illustration of the proposition contained in the second. Accordingly I would suggest that the second and third *pâdas* have been transposed. This must have happened at a very early date; for Śûdraka, whose alterations of the verse shows that he felt the same difficulties in it that we do, has the same order as the text of the *DC*. With this slight change the whole verse falls into order and is entirely free from objection. The translation would run, 'Let the wiseacres, if they like, tell us this sort of behaviour to folks asleep is a low affair, yet independence though of ill report is far better than the folded hands of servility. For getting the better of the trustful by deceitful means is heroism, not unjustifiable violence, and this was the road the son of Droṇa took when he slew the sleeping kings.' Another, but perhaps inferior, alternative is to amend the second *pâda* so as to make it a parenthetical explanation of the opinion of the *vibudhâḥ* in the first *pâda*. Thus the reading might conceivably be *viśvaste hi na*, etc., 'let the wiseacres call it low, on the score that getting the better of the trustful by deceitful means is not merely not heroism, but has not even

the merit of violence (or, firmness of mind ?).' Theft is not heroism ; it does not even postulate the possession of the personal qualities required for robbery and is therefore low. Śûdraka may have had some such reading ; for he modifies the second *pâda* so as to give it this effect (. . *cauryaṁ na śauryaṁ hi tat*), while getting rid of the dubious *kârkaśyatâ*. The standard text of his play spoils the effect of this by substituting, in the third *pâda*, *hi* for *tu*, which is required to counterbalance *kâmam*, but improves the fourth by reading *mârgo hy eṣa*. If we carry out the transposition I propose, this latter amendment is unnecessary.

Ib., Act iii, p. 56. The Vidûṣaka says he cannot go to sleep, *kattavvakarittîkidasaṁkedo via sakkiasamaṇao*. This was conjecturally amended later by Ganapati Sastri to *kattavvakaratthîkidasaṁkedo*, etc., accepted by the translators, tr., I, 92, 'A Buddhist monk that's made an assignation with a servant girl.'

Kartavyakarastrî=paricârikâ is highly improbable and a knowledge of Buddhism would have shown that the conjecture was entirely unnecessary. The reference is to the practice known as *jâgarikâ* (see Rhys Davids—Stede's *Pali Dictionary* s.v.), keeping awake at night to induce mystic meditation, of which a clear account will be found at *Saundarananda*, xiv, 20 ff. *Kattabbaka* in Pali means the task an aspirant has to perform to become an Arhat (*Theragâthâ*, 330) and is the equivalent of *karaṇîya* in the formula of Arhatship. *Saṁketa* is properly either 'a characteristic trait' (*Mahâvastu*, I, 78, l. 10, cf. note) or is a synonym of *vyavahâra* and *saṁvṛti*, 'truth as seen by ordinary men,' 'worldly usage' (*Mûlamadhyamakakârikâs*, 28, n. 1, and 492, l. 11, and *Mahâvyutpatti*).[1] In classical Sanskrit *riktîkṛ* is rare and late (*PW* and Schmidt's *Nachträge*) ; but Buddhist tradition understood the root *ric* to mean 'purify' (*Mahâvastu*, I, 531), and *ritta* in Pali means 'emancipated' (*Suttanipâta*, 823). The phrase is deliberately perhaps a bit of a jumble to make fun of the Vidûṣaka, but the literal translation is, 'like a Buddhist monk who has been emancipated from worldly knowledge by following the path to Arhatship,' namely by practising *jâgarikâ*. The passage helps to date the play as early, because it indicates a time when the Hînayâna was still flourishing and familiarity with its practices could be presumed in a non-Buddhist audience. Like several others, it also shows that it is dangerous to take the words *śramaṇa* and *bhikṣu* in a non-Buddhist work as necessarily referring to Buddhist monks, unless qualified by *Śâkya* or a similar word, or to assume that any reference to Buddhist mendicants can only be depreciatory.

Ib., Act iv, p. 79. The Vidûṣaka, describing the glories of Vasantasenâ's house, says *ṇâṇâpaṭṭaṇasamâgadehi ââmiehi puttaâ vâianti*. Tr., I, p. 100, 'Visitors from various towns are busy reading,' following Ganapati Sastri's *châyâ* of *pustakâḥ*.

Âgâmika is a difficult word ; the editor took it to be *âgama* and glossed *śâstrajña*, which seems entirely out of the question. The translators (like Filippo-Belloni *l.c.*) take it as equivalent to *âgantuka*. The only authenticated meaning is 'relating to the future' ; could it therefore mean 'fortune-teller' here, the same as *âdeśika* ? But *paṭṭana* (or *pattana*) is perhaps significant, for it means a big 'commercial centre,' 'mart,' from which trade radiates. Thus *âgâmika* might be a name for travelling traders and this gives point to Dr. Morgenstierne's comparison with the description of a similar palace in the *Bṛhatkathâślokasaṁgraha*, x, 99-102, where Gomukha's passage through the numerous courtyards is obstructed by the various craftsmen pressing the virtues of their wares on him. The question then arises what to make of *puttaâ*. Substantial amendment is impossible, since Śûdraka's *addhavâcido* . . *potthao* in his much elaborated version proves that he understood *pustaka* here. This last is a rather late loan-word, introduced perhaps by Iranian-speaking invaders about the beginning of our era, and the earliest occurrence in literature is apparently in *Kauṭ. Arthaśâstra*, ii, 7, in the sense of 'ledger,' 'register.' Are we to understand traders dictating the writing up of their ledgers ? But this is hardly general enough for a very brief description, though it might well find a place in a more elaborate one. Moreover it demands the amendment *putthaâ* or *potthaâ*. If we adhere to the text, we could understand *putrakâ*,

[1] Accept preferably the explanation at *Abhidharmakośa*, vol. V, 260, n. 2.

which could only mean 'puppets.' Such a reference would be very interesting, but again is hardly probable. There is however another alternative and that is to refer it to the Prakrit word *potta*, meaning 'clothes' at Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, 31, 8, and *Karpûramañjarî*, i, 27, which would be spelt *putta* in the *DC*'s Prakrit; *potti* is used in the former work, 59, 30, for 'bathing wrap,' like Hindi *potiâ*. This seems to me to give the best solution, though it involves the admission that Śûdraka, if he read *puttaâ*, understood *putthaâ*. I would translate, 'Travelling merchants from the various marts are advertising their cloths.'

Karṇabhâra, 15. Of galloping horses, suddenly stopping, *utkarṇastimitâñcitâkṣivalitagrîvârpitâgrânanâḥ*. The editor suggests *akṣa* for *akṣi* and the translators follow this and render, II, 37, 'They prick their ears and slightly arch their necks, strung with beads, and rub them with their muzzles.'

But is it necessary or right to amend? The *PW* quotes two instances of *añcita* applied to the eyes from the *MBh.* and, to judge from Mallinâtha on *Raghuvaṁśa*, v, 76, it simply means 'bright,' 'beautiful,' a development perhaps from phrases such as *bhrûbhedâñcitalocana* at *Dhûrtaviṭasaṁvâda*, 12, l. 14. *Stimita* also surely requires the retention of *akṣi*. I understand the compound to mean, 'With ears pricked, bright eyes fixed, and muzzles resting on their arched necks.' They do not rub their necks, but are holding them well-arched, as if suddenly pulled up, or like horses with a bearing-rein.

Avimâraka, Act v, 5. Avimâraka, reproving the Vidûṣaka for making fun of him, says:—

Na te na buddhir mama dûṣaṇîyâ
yena prakâmaṁ bhavatâsmi hâsyaḥ |

Tr., II, 97, 'No blame to me and none to thee, if I should make thee laugh.'

Surely *na* . . *na* is a strong affirmative used ironically, as at *PY*, Act i, p. 9, in Rumaṇvat's remark to Udayana to dissuade him from attempting to catch the fatal elephant, *ṇa hu de eḷâvaṇâdîṇaṁ vi disâgaâṇaṁ gahaṇaṁ ṇa sambhâvaṇîaṁ*, not (tr., I, 10) 'Quite possibly you might catch, etc., but 'Of course you could catch, etc.' This outspoken remark of the blunt soldier is commented on by Yaugandharâyaṇa in his next speech. This hemistich also illustrates the rule when gerundives take the genitive of the agent and when the instrumental (Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, § 66 Remark). I would translate, 'Of course it is right for you to disparage my intelligence, so that I am to be laughed at by you as much as you like.'

The rule should be applied in two other passages. At *PN*, Act i, 31, *cîramâtrottarîyâṇâṁ kiṁ dṛśyaṁ vanavâsinâm*, the translation (I, 166), 'Those who dwell in forests clad in coats of bark need see nobody,' presupposes the instrumental (and the emendation, *ko dṛśyo* ?). The meaning, as the context shows, can only be, 'Those who dwell in forests clad in coats of bark have nothing worth looking at (by others)': this brings out the point of the coats of bark as opposed to the ordinary gorgeous attire of princes. Similarly *Bâlacarita*, Act i, 28, runs:—

Kâryâṇy akâryâṇy a . . *marâṇâṁ*
tvayâ bhaviṣyanti balâni loke |

The translation (II, 120), following the editor's conjecture of *akhilâmarâṇâṁ* for the missing letters, has, 'The deeds of all immortals, good deeds and bad, will be forces in the world through thee.' This is ingenious, but is defective as affording no application to the next hemistich, which asks Kṛṣṇa to display his powers by making himself light so as to be easy to carry. Palæographically one would expect that the first *pâda* should end *aparâmarâṇâṁ*, the likeness of the two syllables accounting for the omission, and the acceptance of this conjecture facilitates the translation. For, applying Speijer's rule and noting the references in the *PW* for *akârya* with the genitive (under *akârya a*) and for *kârya* with the instrumental (under *kârya 1a*), we get a rendering which is more natural and fits in admirably with the context, namely, 'The manifestations of power in the world, which are beyond the competence of the other immortals, shall be performable by thee.' Kṛṣṇa is then adjured to begin manifesting his powers at once.

MISCELLANEA.

SOME NOTES ON NAMES IN HINDU GEOGRAPHY.

1. Alipura of Gupta History.

On the situation of Alipura of Gupta history (cf. *JBORS.*, XVIII, 29) we have a Purâṇik piece of evidence to help us to locate it in Madradeśa. The *Vâyu Purâṇa*, which closes its historical review at about 348 or 350 A.D.,[1] is a Gupta work. In its chapter on the geography of India (ch. 45) it mentions the Ali-Madras among the 'Northern Countries' (*deśâḥ udîcyâḥ*, verses 115-121): अपगाश्चालिमद्राश्च (verse 120). The Ali-Madras were evidently a subdivision of the Madras; and evidently Alipura was the town of the Ali-Madras. The encounter of Candra Gupta II with the Śakâdhipati (Śaka emperor) thus took place in Madra-deśa.

2. Bannu in Hindu Geography.

In the *Mahâ-Bhârata*, *Bhîṣma parvan* (the chapter cited by Wilson in his translation of the *Viṣṇu Purâṇa*, ii, 139-190) we find the Bâhlîkas, the Dârvîca-Vânavas and the Darvas (p. 175)[2] together. *Dârvîca* has been broken up in the printed text as *Dârvî ca*. This is wrong, for every name in the text is in the plural, as is seen in the next name, *Vânavâh*. *Dârvîca* and *Vânavâḥ* make one grammatical unit: दार्वीच-वानवाः The Darvas are the well-known member in *Darv=Âbhisâra*. The *Vânavâḥ* are the people of 'Vanu,' i.e., Bannu; and *Dârvîca* is the exact equivalent of Dârvîśa (=the Darviśa, or Darveś khel of the frontier).[3] Their neighbour, 'Vanu,' is thus the present Banu or Bannu.

3. The Vatadhanas of Hindu Geography.

The Vâṭadhânas were Vrâtyas, like the Licchavis (Manu, x, 21), that is non-orthodox Hindus. They were a definite community; and the *Purâṇas* count them amongst the peoples of northern Hindu India, or Bhâratavarṣa, e.g., the *Matsya* (ch. 113. 40: बाह्लीकावाटधानाश्च), Varâhamihira couples them with the Yaudheyas: वाटधान-यौधेयाः (*Bṛhatsaṁhitâ*, xvi. 22). They have remained unidentified.

The Prakrit equivalent of *Vâṭadhâna* would be *Pâṭahâna*, which is obviously our *Pâṭhân*. The form *Pâṭhân*, instead of *Paṭhân*, I have found still current in the speech of villagers in Northern India.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

BOOK-NOTICES.

STUDIES IN COLA HISTORY AND ADMINISTRATION, by K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI. University of Madras, 1932.

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri's first theme is the historicity of Karikala Coḷa. After briefly discussing the evidential value of early Tamil literature, and the colophons and commentaries associated with it, he examines the sources in chronological order, and traces the evolution of the Karikala legend from the earliest records down to the seventeenth century. His next subject is rural administration. He points out (what many writers fail to make clear) that the Tamil *sabhâ* was in no sense a popular assembly, but an essentially Brâhman affair, devised for the governance of Brâhman villages. The interests of the laity found expression in the *ûr*, the *nagaram*, and the *nâḍu*. He then reviews the history of the *sabhâs* of Nâlûr and Uttaramêrûr, as recorded in inscriptions, which range through several centuries, and concludes with a detailed revision of Venkayya's rendering of the now famous Parântaka epigraphs of Uttaramêrûr. His last essay is on a Coḷa feudatory, Naralôkavira by name, his achievements and charities. The whole series of studies is a model of lucid criticism.

F. J. R.

LIST OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS PROTECTED UNDER ACT VII OF 1904 IN BIHAR & ORISSA (A. S. I. New Imp. Ser., vol. LI), by M. H. KURAISHI, B.A. 13 × 10 in.; pp. xvi + 310; with 163 illustrations in the text, 6 maps and plans, and 6 divisional antiquarian maps in pocket. Govt. Press, Calcutta, 1931.

This volume treats only of the monuments declared to be "protected," so the reader will find therein no reference to many sites of archæological or historical interest not so declared. But it is much more than a 'list,' as in the case of the more important sites useful historical summaries have been given, and the descriptions of the various monuments contain all essential details, including any associated inscriptions. As specially useful features may be noted the references under each monument to departmental, and some other, accounts previously published, and to the numbers of the photo-negatives in possession of the Archæological Department. Most of the illustrations have been clearly produced. Comparatively full accounts have been given of the Old Râjgir, Nâlandâ, Rohtâsgaṛh and Khaṇḍagiri sites, and of Maner. A plan of the Nâlandâ area would have been welcome. The chief defects noticed are the typographical errors, and mistakes due

[1] See *JBORS.*, XIX (1933), p. 121-122, 131.

[2] दार्वीच वानवा दर्वा in Southern Text, bk. VI. ch. 9. 54. (Kumbakonam ed., p. 15.)

[3] Hall, *V. P.*, ii. 175, n. See McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 141, where *Po-na* of Fa-hien is taken as Banu.

apparently to want of local knowledge and acquaintance with other available literature. To give a few instances, three of the names of the defenders of the 'Arrah House' (p. 139) have been incorrectly spelt. No officer named Nan (p. 140) played any part in the battle of Buxar (*vide* details given in *JBORS.*, Mar. 1926). Bându Ghâṭ is not one of the paths up the Rohtâs hill (p. 148); Bându is a village on the bank of the Son river, 2 mi. SSW. of Dârânagar. Buchanan Hamilton's (then Buchanan) reference to the fallen bridge at Sher Shâh's tomb is dated the 5th January, 1813 (*vide JBORS.*, 1925, p. 293), not 1832 (p. 187). The Karṇa chaurâ house in the Monghyr fort lies NE. of the large tank, not SE. (p. 208). The words "Damdama Kothî or Bathing Ghat" in brackets after the words "the Point" on p. 209 should have been omitted: the Damdama Koṭhî was not at the Point, which is the name of the projecting corner overlooking the Kaṣṭaharaṇî Ghâṭ. Mîr Jumla did not go through the "Sherghâtî passes" (p. 212) to turn Shâh Shujâ's position in Monghyr fort.

The idea of preparing antiquarian maps for each division was an excellent one, but it is a pity they were not drawn more accurately. As they are, they contain numerous errors, not only in the spelling of place names, but also in the positions of sites.

C. E. A. W. O.

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF MUHAMMADAN AND CHRISTIAN DATES, compiled by Lt.-Col. SIR WOLSELEY HAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E. 7½×5 in.; 32 pp. London, Luzac & Co., 1932.

These tables, which enable students of Oriental history to convert dates in the lunar months of the *Hijra* era into their corresponding dates in the Christian era, have been printed in a handy little booklet that will fit in a coat pocket. They will be useful to readers who have not at hand other works containing such information, e.g., Wollaston's *English-Persian Dictionary*, in the Appendix to which very similar tables are given.

C. E. A. W. O.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF MYSORE, ANNUAL REPORT for 1929, by Dr. M. H. KRISHNA, Pp. vii + 317; 20 plates. Govt. Press, Bangalore, 1931.

This report differs in form and contents from its predecessors. Printed on excellent paper, strongly bound and similar in size to this journal, it is in itself a neat and handy volume. The plates are well chosen, and (with three exceptions) each bears references to the pages on which the subjects illustrated are discussed. The printing is good; the index all that it should be. The subject matter is arranged under five headings. For Part I (Administrative) four pages suffice. Part II (Survey of Monuments) contains brief descriptions of various temples, Jain and Hindu, and an exhaustive account of the shrines, many of them originally cave temples, on the famous hill of Chitaldrug. Dr. Krishna's excavations at the adjoining site of Chandravalli are reserved for a separate monograph.

In Part III (Numismatics) Dr. Krishna throws fresh light on the coinage of the Hoysalas and the early râjas of Mysore, and on provincial issues during the Vijayanagara regime. The familiar "Vîra-Râya fanams," common throughout S. India, he traces to the Hoysala, Vîra-Ballâḷa III. Under Part IV (Manuscripts) Dr. Krishna summarizes, *inter alia*, a Kanarese poem of about 1570 A.D. commemorating "Kampila Râya," and his fights, not only with the forces of Muḥammad Tughluq, but also with the Hoysalas and the Kâkatîyas. The account tallies closely with those of Firishta and Nuniz of the fighting round Kampili and Anegundi a few years before the foundation of Vijayanagara near-by.

Part V (Epigraphy) is inevitably the bulkiest section, for it includes the complete vernacular text of each inscription, with notes, and in some cases full translations. The year's harvest includes 117 inscriptions. These are arranged topographically, and a list is appended, tabulated by dynasties, of all inscriptions for which a dynasty can be assigned. The gem of the collection is a brief record of Mayûraśarman, the Brâhmaṇ founder of the Kadamba dynasty, enumerating eight kingdoms over which he was victorious, viz., Traikûṭa, Abhîra, Pallava, Pâriyâtra, Śakasthâna, Sendraka, Punâṭa and Maukhari. No mention is made of Śâtavâhana, Gupta, Gaṅga or Vâkâṭaka, and on the strength of those omissions Dr. Krishna would date this inscription about 258 A.D., i.e., after the Śâtavâhanas had fallen and before the other three empires arose; a century earlier than the date usually assigned. Whether this dating is correct or not, it is certain that Mayûraśarman's achievement was a bigger thing than was hitherto suspected, and not unworthy of the eighteen horse sacrifices ascribed to him. Another record of first-rate importance is a grant by one Avidhêya of a village now in Kolhapur State. This ruler Dr. Krishna skilfully links up with the early Râṣṭrakûṭas of "Manpur" in the Central Provinces, and the puzzling Śaṁbhapur grants of Chhattîsgaṛh. For the grant he suggests the date *c.* 516 A.D., and cites in support some well known Câlukya-Râṣṭrakûṭa conflicts recorded in early Câlukya grants.

Mysore has been well served by her archæologists. Lewis Rice's corpus of nearly 9000 inscriptions is a unique foundation; Messrs. R. Narasimhachar and R. Shama Sastri, in their annual reports explored with scholarly craftsmanship the artistic and literary aspects of Kanarese culture; and in this, his first report, Dr. Krishna makes it quite clear that the national tradition is in safe hands.

F. J. R.

PLACES AND PEOPLES IN AŚOKA'S INSCRIPTIONS.

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

I. Aśoka's Pâladas and Aṁdhras, and the so-called Râja-Visaya.

1. ROCK Series Proclamations, Section XIII,[1] mention the (1) *Pâladas* and (2) *Aṁdhras*, which have not been correctly identified. No definite proposal has been put forward about the *Pâladas;* and the *Aṁdhras* have been taken to be the Dakṣiṇâpatha Andhras. As I shall show below, the *Pâladas* were in Afghânistân and are well-known to Sanskrit geography as **Pâradas,** and there were their neighbours **Northern Andhras,** according to the *Purâṇas.*

Pâlada-Pâlida.

2. Aśoka's inscriptions have two main forms of the name of the *Pâlada* community:

1. *P[â]lada* [at Kâlsî].
2. { *Palida* [at Shâhbâzgaṛhî];
   { *Pâriṁda* [at Girnâr, which is only a dialectic variant of *Pâlida*].

Curiously enough, the *Purâṇas* also have these two forms, as *Pârada* and *Parita.* The *Matsya* (ch. 113, 40-43), describing the 'northern countries' (*deśâḥ udîchyâḥ*), has:

गान्धारा यवनाश्चैव सिन्धुसौवीर-मद्रकाः ।
शका द्रुह्याः पुलिन्दाश्च पारदा हारमूर्त्तिकाः ॥ (41)[2]

The *Vâyu*, in the corresponding place (ch. 45, *ś.* 116), gives:

गान्धारा यवनाश्चैव सिन्धुसौवीर-भद्रकाः ।
शका ह्रदाः कुलिन्दाश्च परिता हार-पूरिकाः ॥[3]

Here *Paritâ* has the hard form for the *Palidâ* of Aśoka. *Pârada* is the general form in Sanskrit literature, as we shall see below. In the *Vâyu* text, भद्रकाः is a mislection for मद्रकाः . On the *Pulindâḥ* (which occur in the same group in other authorities) we should recall here that Dr. Hall noted years back, in commenting on 'the Sindhu-Pulindas,' that there were northern Pulindas as well as southern Pulindas.[4] They are, I think, the modern *Povindah* clan of the Afghâns. The form *Kulinda* is also well-attested (see the citations on Khasas by Sir George Grierson in *L.S.I.*, IX, Pt. 4, pp. 3-5). It represents the *Kuṇinda* of the coins. In fact, one MS. of the *Vâyu* reads *Kuninda.*[5] Possibly at an early stage the Kunindas lived in the region of the present N.-W. Frontier Province. *Hâra-pûrika*, is a corruption of the well-known *Hâra-hûrika*, which I would take as a Sanskrit name for Arachosia. The *Śakâḥ Druhyâḥ* (=*Hradâḥ*, 'the lake people') of the texts evidently represents the people of Seistan-Drangiana.

Location of the Pâradas.

3. Ptolemy's *Paryetae* are our *Paritâs-Pâlidas.* Ptolemy's treatment shows that they were in Afghânistân.[6] It should be noted here that, in the previous verse, the *Vâyu* has *Aparîtâḥ* (=Afrîdîs), distinct from *Paritâḥ.*[7]

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1 Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 211.

2 J. Vidyâsâgara's ed., Calcutta, 1876, p. 393.

3 *Bibliotheca Indica* ed., vol. I, p. 351.

4 Wilson and Hall's *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, vol. II, p. 159, notes, where he cites the *Râmâyaṇa, Kikâṇda* XLIII.

5 Ânandâśrama ed., p. 138, MS.ग.

6 *Encyclopædia Brit.* (11th ed.) I, p. 315.

7 बाह्लीका वाटधानाश्च आभीरा कालतोयकाः ।
अपरीताश्च शूद्राश्च पह्[ह्ल]वाश्चर्मखण्डिकाः ॥ A., p. 138.

Their identification with the Afrîdîs is due to Mr. Jayachandra Vidyâlaṅkâra. *JBORS.*, XVIII, 99, 97. They are the same as the *Aparytae* of Darius and Herodotus (III, 91). I have heard Ghazni men pronouncing the name as '*aparti*' and '*apariti.*'

Sanskrit authorities group these people along with communities most of whom are identical with those mentioned by Aśoka. They also afford data for their location. This will be better understood by comparing the following lists :—

Aśoka's Inscriptions.—Yona-Kaṁbojas [-Kaṁboyas], Nâbhaka-Nâbhapaṁtis [=Gaṁdharas of RP., V.], Bhoja-Pitinikas [=Raṭhika-Pitinikas of RP., V),[8] Aṁdhra [=Adha] -**Pâladas.**

Râmâyana (K. 43, 4-12).—Kâmboja-Yavanas, Śakas, **Varadas** [=Pâradas].[9]

Manu (10, 44).—Kâmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, **Pâradas,** Pahnavas, Cinas, Kirâtas, Daradas, Khaśas.[10] (The reading *Pahnava* interchanges with *Pahlava* in the MSS.)

Mahâ-Bhârata.—Śakas, Kâmbojas, Bâhlikas, Yavanas, **Pâradas,** Kuliṅgas, Taṅgaṇas.[11]

Harivaṁśa.—(Yavanas), Śakas, Tukhâras, Daradas, **Pâradas,** Taṅgaṇas, Khasas, Pahlavas, and other ' barbarians ' (Mlecchas) of the Himâlaya.[12]

Here, in the *Harivaṁśa*, we have an express location in the Himâlaya for the Pâradas.[13] A passage of the *Mahâ-Bhârata* (*Sabhâ p.*, ch. 52, 2-3) also locates them between Western Tibet (Mandâra) and evidently the Hindukush (Meru) range, on the river Śailodâ,[14] which can only be the Kunâr. I cite here the text :—

मेरुमन्दरयोर्मध्ये शैलोदामभितो नदीम् ।
ये ते कीचकवेणूनां छायां रम्यामुपासते ॥
खषा एका सनाद्यर्हाः प्रदरा दीर्घ-वेणवः ।
पारदाश्च कुलिन्दाश्च तङ्गणाः परतङ्गणाः ॥[15]

They dealt in ' ant-dug ' gold (cf. IA., 4, 225). There can be little doubt that the valley of the Kunâr-Chitral river is meant here. By the process of allocation of known territories to some of their neighbours, the Pâradas would seem to have occupied the area between the region at present peopled by the Kâfirs (called *Lampâkas* in Sanskrit literature) and the Mohmands, in the periods of Aśoka, of the *Râmâyaṇa* text, and of the *Mânava Dharmaśâstra.*[16] They seem to have been allied to the Aparîtas, for the form Paritâ is very near them, and the *Mahâ-Bhârata* (*Bhīṣma p.*) reads their corrupt variants *Aparântâḥ* and *Parântâḥ* together :

बाह्लीका वाटधानाश्च आभीराः कालतोयकाः ।
अपरान्ताः परान्ताश्च पह्नवा [पह्लवा]श्चर्ममण्डलाः ॥

If this be compared with the Vâyu text quoted above, it will appear that the *Aparântâḥ* and *Parântâḥ* of the *Mahâ-Bhârata* stand for the *Aparîtas* and *Śûdras* of the *Vâyu.*[17]

8 Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, i, 142-145.

9 The countries mentioned are expressly ' northern ' (verse 4) and in the Himâlaya :

काम्बोज-यवनांश्चैव शकानां पत्तनानि च ।
अन्वीक्ष्य वरदांश्चैव हिमवन्तं विचिन्वथ ।

In the previous verse, there are the *Mlecchas, Pulindas, Śûrasenas, Prasthalas, Bhâratas, Kurus,* and *Madrakas.* These Kurus and Madras must be the Uttara-Kurus and Uttara-Madras. The former are located by Ptolemy in the Pâmîrs. The Purâṇas mention the existence of ' colonies of Kshatriyas ' in that region (*Matsya* 113. 42).

10 पौण्ड्रकाश्चौड्र [चान्ध्र] - द्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः ।
पारदा (:) पन्हवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खशाः ।

The *Chînas* are the *Ṣiṇa* race of Gilgit (*L.S.I.*, IX, 4, p. 5, n. 5). The Daradas are the modern Dards; the Kirâtas are the Kirantis of Nepal.

11 *L.S.I.*, IX, Pt. 4, p. 3. Taṅgaṇapura was near Badrinâth Garhwâl), see *L.S.I.*, *ibid.*, n. 6.

12 6440 ; *L.S.I.*, *ibid.*, p. 4.

13 *L.S.I.*, *ibid.*, p. 3.

14 Probably the origin of the classical stories of the river ' Silas.'

15 Southern text, ch. 78, verses 78-79.

16 *L.S.I.*, *ibid.*, p. 4.

17 Wilson and Hall, *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, ii, 16.

The Northern Andhras.

4. It seems certain that there was a community called Andhras in the north. The *Matsya*, in the opening verse on the enumeration of the 'northern countries,' has *Pur Andhras* just in the place where *Aparîtas* are given by the *Vâyu* :

बाह्लीका वाटधानाश्च आभीराः कालतोयकाः ।
पुरन्ध्राश्चैव शूद्राश्च पह्लवाश्चात्तखण्डिकाः ॥

The *Bhâgavata* (IX. 20, 30) includes Andhras in a list of northern peoples :—

किरात-हूणान् यवनानन्ध्रान् कङ्कान् खशान् शकान्—Nirṇayasâgara ed. (1923), p. 414.

I am not in a position to ascertain whether any tribal name in Afghânistân at present corresponds with Andhra. It may, however, be pointed out that in the north of Afghânistân, about a hundred miles to the west of Balkh, there is the district of Andha-khui marked on the map ; and according to the *Matsya* the *Pur Andhras* were in the Bâlhîka group.[18]

The Aṁdhras of Aśoka seem to have been the northern Andhras, as he mentions allied and neighbouring units in pairs, e.g., Yona-Kaṁboja, Bhoja-Pitinika, Raṭhika-Pitinika, Aṁdhra-Pâlida. In the Hâthîgumphâ inscription of Khâravela we have the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas together (*E.I.*, XX. 87), as they were neighbours. Thus we may consider the Aṁdha-(Andhra-)Pâlidas to have been neighbours.

These northern Andhras were self-governing (see below), while the Dakṣiṇâpatha Andhra, according to the evidence of the Aśokan inscriptions and of the Aśokan *stûpas* noticed by the Chinese pilgrims, seems to have been under the imperial government.

Definite Location of the Northern Andhras and Pâladas in the Purâṇas.

5. Fortunately we are not left merely to infer the situation of the Andhras and Pâladas from mere strings of names or from a reference to such a comprehensive term as Himavat,[19] which included the Hindukush, the Pâmîrs and Tibet. The Purâṇas furnish data for a more definite location. There is a section in the Purâṇic geography of Bhâratavarṣa which deals with the watershed of a system of six rivers, three of which flow to the east, and three to the west. All these rivers had their sources in a lake system called *Bindu-sara*, situated in the region known as *Himavarṣa* (literally, 'the snow country').[20] The three rivers flowing westwards are the *Sîtâ* (spelt also *Śîtâ*), *Cakṣu* and *Sindhu* :—

सीता चक्षुश्च सिन्धुश्च तिस्रस्ता वै प्रतीच्यगा (:) ।
(See *Matsya*, ch. 120, 40 : *Vâyu*, i. 47, 39 ; *Râmâyaṇa*, *Bâla k.*, 43, 11-14.)

The countries by the side of each of these rivers are given in detail (*Matsya*, verses 40-49 ; *Brahmâṇḍa*, ii. 18, 41-49).[21] The *Sindhu* is undoubtedly the Indus. The *Cakṣu* is the Oxus, the *Fo-tsu* of Yuan Chwang.[22] It should be noted that the Chinese pilgrim describes the Oxus region and the countries lying between it and the Indus (on the Indian frontier) in Hindu terms, which tally with Hindu geography. The Bhâratavarṣa of the Purâṇas extended up to the southern bank of the Oxus, and was larger than the present-day India in that direction.

18 I have ascertained since from Nazarkhan, an Afghân of Sarafza, Ghazni, that *Andherî* or *Andhrî* is a most warlike Gilzaï tribe in Afghânistân.

19 E.g., in the *Râmâyaṇa*, *Ki.* 43. There is a distinction between our Himâlaya and Himavat.

20 *Varṣa* is, literally, a tract of country subject to its own system of rainfall, i.e., having a distinctive climate. The Purâṇas, however, base these divisions on culture, that is, on individual, characteristic civilisation.

21 The *Brahmâṇḍa* text has become more corrupt.

22 *Life*, p. 196 ; Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, ii. 289.

The name *Cakṣu* (' eye ') is a sanskritisation of the original name of the Oxus, viz., *Aksu*, which had been understood as *akṣu* (=Skt. *akṣi*, ' eye '). In Sanskrit literature we come across its other form, *Vakṣu* (also *Vaṅkṣu*), which is the origin of the Mongolian *Bakshu*, Tibetan *Pakshu*, and Chinese *Fo-tsu* or *Po-tsu* and is preserved in *Vakshan* (modern Wakhân.) Its neighbour, mentioned several times by Yuan Chwang, is spelt both as Sîtâ and Śîtâ (' cold '). There is no room for doubting the identity of *Cakṣu* with *Aksu*. i.e., the Oxus, supported, as this is, by the alternative and real form, *Vakshu*. The countries on the *Cakṣu*, as named in the Purâṇas, are :

(1) Cîna-maru (*Vâyu*), Vira-maru (*Matsya*) ; (2) Kâlika[23] (*Vâyu*), Naṅgaṇa (*Matsya*) ; (3) Sarva-mûlika[24] (*Vâyu*), Śûlika (*Matsya*) ; (4) Tuṣâra (Tukhâra)-*cum*-Andhra (*Vâyu*), Tuṣâra (*Matsya*) ; (5) Tampâka[25] (*Vâyu*), Barbara-Aṅga (*Matsya*) ; (6) Balhava (*Brahmâṇḍa*), Pahnava (*Vâyu*), Yagṛhna (*Matsya*) ; (7) Pârada (*Matsya*), Pâraṭa (*Brahmâṇḍa*), Darada (*Vâyu*) ; (8) Śaka (*Vâyu, Matsya*) ; Khaśa (*Brahmâṇḍa*).[26]

Now, avoiding the question of the identification of each of these items, which is outside the scope of this paper, we are on firm ground in regard to Tuṣâra, which is a well-known spelling for Tukhâra (like Ṣasa for Khasa). Tukhâra is sufficiently described by Yuan Chwang,[27] who visited all parts of the area that was included in ancient Tukhâra, i.e., the districts of the present Afghânistân that go by the names of Tokhâristân and Badakhshân. The Tukhâra country does adjoin the Oxus, and does extend to the valley of the Chitral river, the country of the ancient Daradas and Cînas (=Ṣiṇas). on the east, and marches on the west with Balkh, which it once included within its limits. The Purâṇic description would place Pârada (the Pâlada of Aśoka) between Balhava (Balkh) and Darada and Khaśa (Dardistân), that is to say, the Pâradas would be located in what is now Badakhshân.[28] The Andhras were next to Tukhâra. They too were by the Oxus. In the time of Aśoka there were no Tokhârîs there, and probably the Andhras and the Pâradas were neighbours, the two peoples occupying the area between And-khui (Afghân Turkistân) and the frontier of Chitral. It seems that the Pâradas became insignificant in the early Gupta period, when the *Vâyu* was written in its present form, as it gives their neighbours, the Daradas, in their place, contrary to the *Matsya*, which was closed in the Kushân-Andhra period (*c.* 250 A.D.). The neighbours of the Pâradas, called *Ambasthas* by Varâhamihira (अम्बष्ठ-पारता: XVI, 22), were not the *Ambaṣṭhas* of India proper, but the people whom Ptolemy (xviii. 3) calls Ambantai and places in the Paropanisadai, to the north of the Parietai (see his map in McCrindle, p. 8). Ptolemy gives the other Ambastai separately.

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23 *Túla* in the *Brahmáṇḍa.*

24 *Masa-múlika* in the *Brahmáṇḍa.*

25 *Lamyáka* in the *Brahmáṇḍa.*

26 The texts of the *Matsya* (*c.* 250 A.D.) and *Vâyu* (*c.* 350 A.D.) are given below :—

M. 120 : अथ वीरमरूंश्चैव कालिकांश्चैव शूलिकान् ।
तुषारान् बर्बरानङ्गान् यगृह्ना [न्] पारदान् शकान् । 45
एतान् जनपदांश्चक्षुः प्लावयित्वोदधिङ्गता । 46

V. i. 47 : अथ चीनमरूं श्चैव नङ्गणान् सर्वमूलिकान् ।
सान्ध्रांस्तुषारांस्तंपाकान् पह्नवान् दरदान् शकान् ॥
एतान् जनपदान् चक्षुः प्लावयन्ती गतोदधिम् । 44

Cf. Br. II. 18 : अथ चीनमरूंश्चैव तालांश्च मसमूलिकान् ।
मद्रांस्तुषारांल्लम्याकान् वाह्लवान पारटान् खशान् ॥ 46
एतान् जनपदांश्चक्षुः प्लावयन्ती गतोदधिम् ॥ 47

27 *Life*, pp. 195-196.

28 We should, however, note that Yuan Chwang's Varadasthâna was probably somewhat farther south (see *Si-yu-ki*, ii, 285). *Varadasthâna* would mean ' the land of the Varadas,' the form *Varada* being a softer development of *Pârada*. The form is met with as early as in the *Râmâyaṇa.*

For our period, Manu is a better guide ; and Manu's Code gives exactly the same situation as the *Matsya*, viz. :

Pâradas — Palhavas — Cînas — Kirâtas — Daradas — Khaśas (X, 44).

This means that in the time of the Code (*c.* 150 B.C.) the Pâradas and Palhavas extended up to the Cînas (Ṣiṇas) and Daradas (Dards). Here **Palhava** seems to me to be a form of **Valhava** (Balkh), *v* changing to *p*, a change well known in Prakrit and in the area concerned. This *Palhava* of Manu has nothing to do with Parthia.

Monumental Evidence of Aśoka's Rule on the Oxus.

6. Yuan Chwang includes the countries by the upper Oxus as well as the Pâmîrs in Jambudvîpa, just as the Purâṇas include them in Bhâratavarṣa. When Aśoka mentioned Jambudvîpa, he probably referred to a division greater than Bhâratavarṣa. The then All-India, i.e., the India up to the Oxus (his empire) was included in it : it was something like Asia.[29] That Aśoka ruled up to the Oxus is proved by his *stûpa* which Yuan Chwang saw in the Antarâpa, or Andarâb, country : "There is one *stûpa* built by Aśoka-râja" (*Life*, p. 195).

Purâṇic Enumeration of Oxus Countries.

7. The name *Vîra-maru* (*Matsya*) was changed into *Cîna-maru* (*Vâyu*) owing to Chinese political influence reaching up to Persia in the first century B.C., embracing the 'desert country' (Russian Turkistân). By this *maru* (*Cîna* or *Vîra*) were meant the waste lands of Turkistân commencing above And-khui on the Oxus. This is also suggested by Varâhamihira's record :

Palhava-Śveta-Hûṇa (White Huns) — *Cola* (i.e., northern[29a]) — *Avagâṇa* (=*Apagâṇa*= *Afghân*) — *Maru* — *Cîna* (XVI, 38).

This *maru* was in Zend called *Mouru*, which survives in the name Merv. The Purâṇic enumeration seems to run from west to east. Taking the tract between the Oxus and the Paropamisus-Hindukush, the Purâṇic names may be equated with the modern names thus :—

Desert	corresponding to		Maru (Cîna)
Kerki	,,	,,	Kâlika ?
And(h) — khui	,,	,,	Andhras
Balkh	,,	,,	Valhava
Badakhshân	,,	,,	Pârada
Shighnân-Wakhân	,,	,,	Śaka
Pâmîrs	,,	,,	Khaśa

In the time of Aśoka, the districts of northern Afghânistân now known as Andkhui, Mazâr-i-Sharîf and Khulm seem to have been under the Andhras, and Badakhshân under the Pâradas.

Name of the Country of the Paradas.

8. The correct form of the name of the country is *Parada* (*Varada*), and of that of the people, Pârada, as Valhava would be the place name, and Vâlhaveya (and Vâlhîka) the name of the people. The present-day *Bâradzaï*, a Durrânî tribe, allied to the *Yusuf-zaï*, seems to be their representative.

The a-Râja-Viṣaya of Aśoka.

9. There has been a misreading and misappreciation of a term in Rock Series XIII. In connection with these self-governing communities, the emperor, after noting the success

[29] Otherwise it would be identical with Bhâratavarṣa ; but it seems that a term was designedly adopted to indicate a wider area. In Hindu geography Jambudvîpa is made up of several *varṣas*, including Bhâratavarṣa. I shall show in my note on the Aparântas of Aśoka that he employed technical terms of Hindu geography. The wider significance of the name Jambudvîpa dates from a time anterior to Aśoka, and the name is to be found used in that wider sense in the Buddhist canon as well as in the Epics.

[29a] Cf. Ency. Brit. (11th ed.), XIII, 330.

of his measures in the kingdoms of his foreign neighbours, outside his empire, records his success with regard to certain communities 'here,' i.e., within his empire. To take the translation of Hultzsch :—

"And this (*dhaṁma-vijaya*, i.e., 'conquest by morality') has been won repeatedly by Devânâṁpriya both (here) and among all his borderers, even as far as . . . . where the Yôna king named Antiyoga . . . .

"Likewise here in the king's territory among the Yônas and Kambôjas . . . . . ."[30]

'In the king's territory' is a translation of *râja-visayamhi* (Girnâr). The second member of th phrase had been misread by Bühler as *viśavaji* (Kâlsî). I have compared the letters of the edition, and satisfied myself that Hultzsch's reading is correct. What Bühler read as *ji* is really *ṣi* ; and it has to be read along with *viśava* as *viśavaṣi* (=Skt. *viṣaye*), corresponding with the Girnâr *visayamhi.*

But the grouping of the two words *hidâ* and *lâja-*(*viśavaṣi*) is wrong. It should be *hidâlâjaviśavaṣi* (हिदालाजविशवषि), that is to say, it is *hidâ-*, or *hida-*, *a-râja-viṣaye* (i.e., 'here, in the non-monarchical tract'). The Girnâr version has also *hidâ*, not *hida* (see plate, p. 26).[31] At Kâlsî we have both the forms, *hidâ* and *hida*, but Girnâr has only *hida* (for Skt. *iha*). It is thus clear that *hidârâja* (*hida a-râja*, or *hidâ a-râja*) is engraved. This sort of *sandhi* is well known in Aśoka's inscriptions (cf. Hultzsch. pp. lviii, lxxiii).

[In the term *a-râja viṣaya*, *viṣaya* probably has a technical meaning. It was a part of the empire, a province or a governorship, an administrative unit, like the *viṣaya* of Antaravedi of the Guptas. There was probably a province of these republics, a separate imperial administrative unit, a protectorate province, like the Central Indian Agency of our day.]

II. Âparâṁta, not Aparâṁta.

10. There is misapprehension with regard to another word. In Rock Series V, the text has been taken as *aparâṁtâ*, and as meaning 'western neighbours,' taking the word as made up of *apara* + *aṁta*. It might also be analysed as *a-para* + *aṁta*, i.e., the 'home' or 'inside' neighbours; or possibly as *avara* + *aṁta*, the 'inferior' neighbours. But these interpretations must be given up as inadmissible, for the reading is *Âparâṁtâ* (at Girnâr, *Âparâtâ* ; at Dhaulî, *Âpalaṁtâ*), i.e., 'the peoples belonging to Aparânta.' The *Apalaṁtâ* of Kâlsî is therefore to be taken as used just like the *Aparântâḥ* of the Purânas. *Aparânta* is a term used by Hindu geographers : it means the division of India called 'Western India.' This Western India is thus described about 250 A.D. (*Matsya Purâṇa*, 113, 49-51) :

कुर्लायाश्च सिरालाश्च रूपसास्तापसैः सह ।
तथा तैत्तिरिकाश्चैव सर्वे [पा][33] रस्करास्तथा ॥
[ना][34] सिकाश्चैव ये चान्ये ये चैवान्तर-नर्म्मदाः ।
भारुकच्छाः स-माहेयाः सह सारस्वतैस्तथा ॥
काच्छीकाश्चैव सौराष्ट्रा आनर्त्ता अर्बुदैः सह ।
इत्येते अपरान्तास्तु

Cf. *Brahmâṇḍa*, ii, xvi, p. 27 (Veṅk. ed., verses 51-62).

× × × × × × × × अपरांतान्[35] निबोधत ।
सूर्य्यारकाः कलिवना दुर्गला × कुन्तलैः सह ।
पौलेयाश्च किराताश्च रूपकांस्तापकैः सह ॥ 60

[30] *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, 1925, p. 48.

[31] The point has been missed by Hultzsch owing to the vowel sign not being prominent.

[32] Hultzsch translates as 'western borderers,' *Inscriptions of Aśoka* (1925), p. 10. I had previously suggested this rendering (*Hindu Polity*, 1924 , i. 43) ; but this is not maintainable, as we shall presently see.

[33] का°, corrected from the *Vâyu* text.

[34] वा°, corrected from the *Vâyu* text.

[35] अपरांस्तान् in the printed text is an obvious misreading.

तथा करीतवश्चैव सर्वे चैव करंधराः ।
नासिकाश्चैव ये चान्ये ये चैवान्तर-नर्मदा ॥ 61 ।
सह-कच्छाः स-माहेयाः सह सारस्वतैरपि ।
कच्छीयाश्च सुराष्ट्राश्च आनर्त्ताश्चार्बुदैः सह ॥ 62 ।
इत्येते अपरान्ताश्च.........
Cf. *Vāyu*, 45, 128-131.
.... अपरांस्तान्निबोधत ।
सूर्पकाराः कलिवना दुर्गाः कालीतकैः सह ॥
पुलेयाश्च सुरालाश्च रूपसाम्तापसैः सह ।
तथा तुरसिताश्चैव सर्वे चैव परस्कराः ॥
नासिक्याद्याश्च ये चान्ये ये चैवान्तरनर्मदाः ॥
भारु[36] कच्छाः समाहेयाः सहसा शाश्वतैरपि ।
कच्छीयाश्च सुराष्ट्राश्च अनर्त्ताश्चार्बुदैः सह ॥
इत्येते सम्परीताश्च [= अपरांताश्च][37]

11. The extra line in the *Vâyu* gives a definite datum in **सूर्पारका** (miscopied as **सूर्पाकाराः**), i.e., from Śûrpâraka, the modern Sopârâ, which is described as the capital of Aparântâ in *E.I.*, XI. The name probably owed its origin to Śûrpâraka having been the port for sailing to Assyria (*Śûra*). **कच्छीयाः** are the modern Kacchîs, the Gujarâtî-speaking people living in Cutch (Kacch), popularly known as 'Kacch-Bhûj.' *Samâheyâḥ* I have subdivided as *sa-Mâheyâḥ*, 'with the people of the Mâhi valley.' *Sârasvata* refers to the river Sarasvatî, still bearing its old name. It is to the west of the Mâhi. Cf. Varâhamihira:

आनर्तार्बुद पुष्कर-सौराष्ट्राभीर-शूद्र-रैवतकाः ।
नष्टा यस्मिन्देशे सरस्वती पश्चिमो देशः । (31)

According to the above text, Aparânta, lit., 'the western end.' extended from Nâsik to the Raṇ of Kacch, including the area now called Pârkar [=Pâraskara] on the northern edge of the Raṇ. It is for the most part identical with the Gujarât country, with probably a later extension beyond the Tâptî river (*Tâpakaiḥ saha*).[38]

III. Aśoka's Âparâṁtâ?

12. Now, who were Aśoka's Âparâṁtâ ? The inscriptions are not very helpful here ; in fact they are positively confusing, as will be seen from the extracts quoted below :—

Girnâr	..	*Yoṇa-Kaṁboja-Gaṁdhârânaṁ* (1) *Ristika* (incorrect for *Râṣṭika*)-*P[e]teṇikânaṁ ye vâ pi aṁñe Âparâtâ* (2).
Mânsehrâ	..	Practically the same as above, except that it reads *Raṭhika-Pitinakana*.
Kâlsî	..	*Yona-Kaṁboja-Gaṁdhâlânaṁ e vâ pi aṁne Apalaṁtâ.*
Shâhbâzgaṛhî.		*Yona-Kaṁboya-Gaṁdharanaṁ Raṭhikanaṁ Pitinikanaṁ ye va pi Aparaṁta.*
Dhaulî	..	*Yona-Kambocha-Gaṁdhalesu Laṭhika-Pitenikesu e vâ pi aṁne Âpalaṁtâ.*

It will be noticed that Girnâr, Mânsehrâ and Dhauli would describe at least the second group (Râṣṭrika-Pitinika) as Âparântas, and would seem to indicate that there were other Âparântas among whom Aśoka carried on his propaganda of positivism. Shâhbâzgaṛhî, on the other hand, would indicate both groups as non-Âparânta, while Kâlsî knows only the first group, and will make them Âparaṁtas ! The first group, we know from the *Râmâyaṇa* downwards, to be *udîcyâḥ* (Northerners), and never Westerners. We have to regard Kâlsî

36 Ânandâśrama text : मानु°

37 सम्परीता is a misreading for the अपरांता of the *Matsya*.

38 Jayamaṅgala, commentator of the Vâtsyâyana *Kâmasûtra*, similarly describes Âparânta as bordering on the Western Sea. (पश्चिम-समुद्र-समीपेऽपरान्तदेशः) and (next to it) Lâṭa, 'which lies to the west of Western Mâlava,' i.e., the Ujjayani country (अपरमालवपश्चिमेन लाटविषयः)

as defective, in omitting by mistake the mention of *Râṣṭrika-Pitinikânaṁ*. Similarly the Shâhbâzgaṛhî text is to be considered defective as omitting by mistake *añe* (other) before *Aparaṁta*. The mistake at Shâhbâzgaṛhî shows that in Gandhâra [Province] the engraver or writer on the rock did not know that Raṭhikas and Pitinikas were Âparaṁtâs or that they were neighbours, for he makes them separate and does not group them. The mistake also shows that Yona-Kaṁboja-Gandhâra, which the writer knew well, were not Âparaṁtâs. The writer at Kâlsî, who does not use the form *Âpalaṁtâ* but has *Apalaṁtâ*, missed or omitted the real Âparâṅtas and employed the non-technical *apalaṁtâ*, and writing as he was in the upper Siwâliks, he might correctly call the Peshâwarîs and Kâbulîs 'the Westerners.' The true text is at Girnâr, Mânsehrâ and Dhauli, according to which, read in the light of Shâhbâzgaṛhî, the peoples to whom *Âparâṁtâ* applied were the *Raṭhika* (*Râṣṭrika*)-*Pitinikas*(*Petenikas*).

Having Pitinikas as one of the Âparâṅta administrative units, we can safely infer that the next neighbours, the Bhojas (*Bhoja-Pitinika*, Rock XIII), were included in the 'other Âparâṅtas.' We have thus three communities who were Âparâṅtas:

Bhojas

Râṣṭrikas

Pitinikas

The Râṣṭrikas were the connecting link between the two, and must have been in a position from which they could link the Pitinikas and the Bhojas with themselves. Thus, if we can fix the localities of the other two, we can guess the position of the Pitinikas almost to a certainty.

For a period of less than a hundred years after Aśoka, we have the evidence of Khâravela (*E. I.*, XX, 79) that "all the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas" fought against him together. This shows that there was more than one Raṭhika republican chief and probably more than one Bhojaka republican chief, and that the two were distinct, though closely allied. They were probably, therefore, close neighbours: Bhoja-Râṣṭrika-Pitinika made really one group.

Location of the Raṣṭrika, Pitinika and Bhoja States.

13. According to a passage of the *Mahâ-Bhârata* one had to cross the Chambal to reach the Bhoja state and the Nava-Râṣṭras or Nine Râṣṭras.[39] According to another passage, the Bhojas were between Karûṣa and Sindh (Sindhu-Pulindakas).[40] The Bhojas were allied to Kriṣṇa's kinsmen, the Andhaka-Vriṣṇis, and migrated with them to Western India from Śûrasena. They must have settled near them, that is near Kâṭhiâwâṛ. The position suggested by the *Mahâ-Bhârata* [39] is below Sindh and to the west of the Mâlavas, with whom are associated the Karûṣas (मालवाश्च करूषाश्च, *Matsya*, 113. 52). By crossing the Chambal one came into the Mâlava country. The locality thus suggested is between Sindh and Mâlava. The limit of the Mâlavas in Western India was Mount Abu, Arbuda, (*Arbuda-Mâlavâḥ*), i.e., the Aravali range. Leaving the Bhojas here, let us see if we can be more definite about the Râṣṭrikas or Lâṭhikas.

Our best guide here is Ptolemy. He places Larikê between the mouth of the Mâhi river and the peninsula of Kâṭhiâwâṛ (McCrindle, p. 38) and extends its dominions from the mouth of the Narmadâ (Barygaza) to the east of Indo-Skythia or Sindh (McCrindle, p. 152). Ptolemy's Poulindai, whom Yule places to the NE. of the Raṇ of Kacch (McCrindle, p. 157), are the Sindhu-Pulindas of the Sanskrit texts. *Lârika* is an exact rendering of *Râṣṭrika* in its Prakrit form.

We have thus on the authority of Ptolemy (*c.* 150 A.D.) Larikê extending from Bharoach to the Gulf of Kacch, i.e., the modern Gujarât (west of Western Mâlwâ). Larikê seems to have extended up to the river Sarasvatî—noted by Varâhamihira as the limit of Western India (नष्टा यस्मिन्देशे सरस्वती पश्चिमो देशः)—which rises from the Aravali hills and falls into the Gulf of Kacch. Ptolemy's limits of Larikê coincide with those of Lâṭa-deśa of Sanskrit

[39] *Sabhâ*, ch. 31 (1 7). [40] *Bhîṣmaparvan*, cited by Wilson and Hall, *V. P.*, ii, 158 (ch. IX, 38-40).

ADDENDUM

to "Places and Peoples in Aśoka's Inscriptions."

Bhojas (p. 129).—Enthoven, in his *Tribes and Castes of Bombay* (I, 229) writes: "Bhojaks, also known as Magas, are found in considerable numbers in Kâthiâwâr and Cutch. They were originally Shrîmâli Brâhmans who adopted the Jain faith for a living."

Rai Bahadur Hiralal, in a letter to me, notes their absence in the Central India States. In Râjpûtânâ their number in 1931 was 2754. In 1901 they were all returned from Mewâṛ, which is not far from Cutch. These facts point to Cutch being their original home.

I have ascertained at Konch, near Tekârî in the Gayâ district, that Śâkaldvîpî Brâhmaṇs are also called Bhojakas. In the Deobaraṇârk inscription of Jîvita Gupta II, Bhojakas appear as priests of the sun-god. The Śâkal-dvîpa, or Śâkadvîpa, from which they came to Bihâr was evidently Indo-Scythia, which comprised Cutch and Sindh. In the time of Aśoka the Bhojakas, who survived till Khâravela's time as a political community, must be regarded as connected with the ancient Bhojas (see *Hindu Polity*, i, 39, 89 ff.)

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writers (*Apara-Mâlava-paścimena Lâṭa-deśa*). The names Lâṭhî, a State in Kâṭhiâwâṛ, and Râṭhî, a caste name among Mârwâṛî (Mâlav-wâr) Vaiśyas preserve the ancient Râṭhika.

Pitinika.

14. The Pitinikas, for the reasons indicated above, should have lived somewhere between the lower courses of the Mâhi and Sarasvatî rivers. Now, about 40 miles to the south-by-east of Ahmadâbâd lies the modern town of Petlâd, in what is now part of the Baroda State. The old name of this place was Petila (see *A.S.R.W.C.*, 1920, pp. 47, 60). Petila=Petina. I think there can be little doubt that in this name we have a survival of the ancient Pitinika, Petinika, Petenika (omitting the suffix), and that it suits the location otherwise suggested.[40a]

Bhojas.

15. The Bhojas, who, according to the *Mbh.*, *Bhîṣma-p.* list, should have resided below the Raṇ of Kacch, must have occupied Kacch. The popular name, Kacch-Bhûj or Kacch Bhoj, for that peninsula preserves the tradition. The Râṣṭrikas, in the middle, extended up to the frontiers of the Pitinikas and the Bhojas. The *Bhojakas*, a caste, are today mostly found in Cutch and Kâthiâwâṛ.[41]

Mahâ-Râṣṭra in Dakṣiṇâpatha.

16. The Mahâ-Râṣṭras were, according to the Purâṇas, in the Dakṣiṇâ-patha (*Vâyu*). They were thus not an Âparânta people. The Râṣṭrikas should not, therefore, be identified with them. It is probable that some of the Raṭhikas and Bhojas moved down to the other side of the Satpura hills, and settled there. But their chief home, especially in Aśoka's time, was to the north of the Narmadâ, in Gujarât proper, from Kâṭhiâwâr to Kacch.

Râṣṭrikas and 'Abiria.'

17. In the time of the Periplus (*c.* 80 A.D.) the very area called by Ptolemy 'Larikê' was called 'Abiria.' It seems that the Âbhîras of Gujarât were the Râṣṭrikas of Aśoka and the Yâdavas of the *Mahâ-Bhârata*. Again and again in that area we find republicans. In the time of the *Mahâ-Bhârata* they are Andhaka-Vṛiṣṇis and Bhojas (Yâdavas); in the time of Aśoka we have the Râṣṭrikas and Bhojas; in the time of Khâravela we have the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas; in the time of Samudra Gupta we have the Âbhîras, while a contemporary Purâṇic text designates the Saurâṣṭras and Âvantyas—'Âbhîras'[42]; in the time of Kumâra Gupta I and Skanda Gupta we have the Puṣyamitras there. These were all one and the same or allied people, with different names at different times.

Râṣṭrika-Bhojas.

18. The treatment of these two in Aśoka's inscriptions shows that to some extent the Bhojas were identical with the Râṣṭrikas, for in Rock P. V and Rock P. XIII they interchange like the Nâbhakas and Gândhâras. It seems that the Bhojas were amongst the Râṣṭrikas, as the Nâbhas were amongst the Gândhâras.

IV. Aśoka's Republicans.

19. The Saurâṣṭras, who had been a republic (*saṁgha*) at the time of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśâstra*, soon ceased to be so in the very time of Chandragupta, who had a governor in Surâṣṭra (modern Soraṭh). Their political status was changed. Hence we do not find them in Aśoka's republican list. Kâmbhoja, which had been a republic in early Maurya times, was still so in Aśoka's time, but the Kṣatriya-Śreṇî ceased to be so. The enumeration in the *Arthaśâstra* is followed in essence by Aśoka, the *Arthaśâstra's* list being :

'Kâmbhoja—Surâṣṭra-Kṣatriyaśreṇi and others' (*Kauṭilya, Bk. X.*)

The Kâmbhoja of Kauṭilya probably included the Yavanas and the Nâbhas, and his Surâṣṭra probably included the Râṣṭrikas.

20. The second list of Kauṭilya is :—

(*a*) Licchavika — Vṛijika — Mallaka (Eastern India),

40a For a *Pettaṇi* from Gujarât in the seventh century see Moraes, Kadambakula, p. 65; March, 1925, p. 83.

41 Enthoven, *Caste and Tribes of Bombay*. I am thankful to Mr. Hira Lal for this reference. This caste is the remnant of the ancient Bhojakas.

42 Bhâgavata (Cf. Vishṇu) in Pargiter's *PT.*, p. 54; *JBORS*, XIX, 149-150.

(b) Madraka — Kukura — Kuru — Pâñchâla and others (Eastern Panjâb to Madhyadeśa) who lost their political status by the time of Aśoka, though the Madrakas reappear in the succeeding centuries and continue up to 350 A.D. (i.e., the time of Samudra Gupta) as republican.

The republics with political powers and full autonomy in the time of Aśoka are a limited list (R. P. XIII): (*i*) the Yavanas, the Kâmbojas, the Nâbhas and Nâbha-Paṁtis, the Bhojas and the Pitinikas [the Raṭhikas were under the Rajjukas of the king, like any other imperial district, according to the Yerraguḍi inscription—IHQ., IX. 112] and (*ii*) the Andhras (on the Oxus), with the Pâradas. The latter are found under a king, *Pâradân shâh*, in 293-294 A.D. [*Paikuli Inscription*, pp. 117-119, Berlin, 1924.]

Bhâratavarṣa and Himavarṣa.

21. Aśoka's line of demarcation is Meru (Hindukush) with Niṣadha (Paropa-Nisad). Those to the south of the Meru-Niṣadha frontier are (*i*) the above, and those to the north of them, in Himavarṣa (Imaus), are the (*ii*), § 20.[43] The territory commencing from the Hindukush is counted by Aśoka in his India, which was something like Bhâratavarṣa. The Greek writers have preserved the tradition that some reckoned India from the the Hindukush, and some from the Indus or the Kôphen. The latter was what the Purâṇas call Kumârîdvîpa. Aśoka's Oxus Province was in his Jambudvîpa, which had been a well-established term before his time, as the Pâli canon shows. The Oxus Province we find included by the Purâṇas in Bhâratavarṣa and Jambûdvîpa—on the other side of the Jambû river. It seems that the Jambû river and Meru (Hindukush) constituted the limits of Maurya India, otherwise Aśoka would have started his *arâja-viṣaya* enumeration with the Andhra-Pâladas. Up to the Hindukush we find an actual Hindu population: Śaśi-gupta was a ruler there in the time of Alexander. Aśoka's dividing line has a geographical meaning, which is explained by the Greek authors writing on the limits of India, and the Hindu divisions of Bhâratavarṣa and Himavarṣa.

The Kaṁboja of Aśoka.

22. *Kaṁboja* (Girnâr, Kâlsî and Mânsehrâ, V and XIII), with its variants, *Kaṁboya* (Shâhbâzgaṛhî, V, XIII) and *Kaṁboca* (Dhauli, V), is the Kâmbhoja of the *Arthaśâstra* (Bk. XI. c. 135). The regular form, however, in Sanskrit literature, from Yâska and the *Râmâyaṇa* down to medieval inscriptions, is Kaṁboja (country) and Kâṁboja (people).[44] The form Kaṁboya suggests that in Aśoka's time the name was pronounced thus in the country itself. From this, 'Kaṁboh,' the name of a numerous Hindu caste found in the Panjâb [45] is derived. Their tradition is that they came from Gajni (i.e., Ghazni), 'near Kambay.'[46]

Kaṁbuja and Kâbul.

23. The origin of the word is *kambu*, 'neck.' Both *Kambu-ja* (and its derivative *Kâṁboja*), 'born in Kambu,' and *Ka(m)bu-la*, 'of Kambu,' may be derived from *kambu*. The area where Kâbul is situated is just like the neck of a water-pot or a conch. Kâbul seems to be identical with the ancient Kaṁboja. Its capital, according to the Buddhist *sûtras*, was Dvârakâ.[47]

The Yavana-Kaṁbojas were between the Yavanas (Yonas of Aśoka) and the Gândhâras. These **Yavanas** were pre-Alexander Yavanas, who are noted in the same position in the *Râmâyaṇa* (*Kiṣkindhâ*, 43, 11—*Kaṁboja-yavananś caiva*) and in the Pâli canon

[43] It is definitely clear that the Hindus named the two ranges, and it was their nomenclature which the Greeks found in use. In the Purâṇic geography Meru and Niṣadha are adjoining, and between them the Jambû River flows (*Vâyu*). Their Jambû-tree was probably the blue plum, which is associated in India with Turkistân ('*âlû Bokhârâ*,' 'the round fruit from Bokhârâ)' and which in shape appears like the *jâmun* fruit of India proper.

[44] Cf. Wilson and Hall, *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, references in Index.

[45] Rose, *Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-Western Frontier Province*, ii, 442 ff.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 444.

[47] Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 23-28.

(*Yona-Kambojesu*).[48] These Yavana-Kambojas of the Pâli texts had no Brâhmaṇs according to the canon and Aśoka (R. P. XIII): they had only free men and slaves, which is an accurate description of a Greek community. The Pâli form, Yona-Kamboja, would mean that these Yonas were in the Kamboja country and a part thereof. In 1919 I had pointed out[49] that these were pre-Alexander Yavanas, the Yavanas of Pâṇini and Manu, for Manu treats them as a Hindu tribe; and I identified them with the community at Nysa, below the Hindukush (Meru), with their president Akoubi (Â-Kaubhî). The latter official presided over the people who dwelt between the Hindukush and the Kubhâ (Kâbul) river, i.e., to the north of that river. They claimed kinship with Alexander's Greeks, which was acknowledged. Patañjali notes their *janapada*: *Naiśyo nâma janapadaḥ* (M. IV. 1. 4 on P. 4. 1. 170).

From Arrian we get some light on the identification of

The Yona-Kamboja-Gaṁdhâras of Aśoka (R.V).

In the edicts these are grouped together, which means, they were all neighbours situated in this order. The enumeration is scientific, being in geographical sequence, from west to east, which is confirmed by Arrian (I):

"The regions beyond the river Indus on the west are inhabited, up to the river Kôphen, by two Indian tribes, the Astakenoi and the Assakenoi, who are not men of great stature like the Indians on the other side of the Indus, nor so brave, nor yet so swarthy as most Indians. . . . . . The Nysaioi, however, are not an Indian race, but descendants of those who came into India with Dionysos. . . . . The district in which he planted this colony he named Nysaia (=the *Naiśya janapada* of *Patañjali*) . . . . . . and the city itself Nysa. But the mountain close by the city, and on the lower slopes of which it is built, is designated Mêros (Meru) . . . . In the dominions of the Assakenoi there is a great city called Massaka, the seat of the sovereign power which controls the whole realm. And there is another city, Peukelaïtis (Puṣkalâvatî), which is also of great size and not far from the Indus. These settlements lie on the other side of the river Indus, and extend in a western direction as far as the Kôphen."

Arrian, in the above passage, indicates that Puṣkalâvatî was easternmost in this enumeration, and his Assakenoi, or the Aśvakas, were on the Kâbul river and between the Nysa Yavanas and Puṣkalâvatî. Now Puṣkalâvatî was in Gandhâra. Aśoka's Kambojas were between the Yavanas and Gandhâra. The Kambojas of Aśoka and of the Sanskrit and Pâli texts thus occupy exactly the same position as Arrian's Assakenoi (Aśvakas). We thus get another name for the Kambojas, i.e., Aśvakas. The Kambojas were famous for their horses, and as cavalry-men (*aśva-yuddha-kuśalâḥ*);[50] *Aśvakas*, 'horsemen,' was the term popularly applied to them.

Gandhâra.

24. Arrian, starting his enumeration from the Indus westwards, mentions the Astakenoi first, which means that they were in Gandhâra. The Aṣṭakas are the well-known *Aṣṭaka-râjya*, 'the Confederacy of Eight.'[51] They are now represented by Hashtnagar, the 'Eight Cities' tract on the lower Swât in the neighbourhood of Puṣkalâvatî (Chârsadda). The Gandhâra of Aśoka was divided into two parts, (1) on the eastern side of the Indus, with Takṣaśilâ as capital, which was an Imperial Province, and (2) the Bâjaur and Swât region under autonomous (city) states, with Puṣkalâvatî as the biggest town amongst them. They formed a league of eight city-states. Now, in Rock P.V. we have the Gaṁdharas, and in Rock P. XIII we have in their place (in the *arâja-viṣaya* group) the Nâbhaka-Nâbhapaṁtis(=*paṅkti*). Here the section of Gandhâra which was not under direct imperial rule was distinguished by these two names. Precisely in this region (Bâjaur-Swât) we have now the Nâhaka community and the Nâhakî Pass. Nâhaka is the exact equivalent of Nâbhaka

48 *Majjhima*, ii, 149 (pointed out by Mr. C. D. Chatterji). These Yonas-Kambojas had only two *varṇas* (castes), viz., *ârya* (free men) and *dâsa* (slaves); and one could change to the other.

49 While delivering my *Tagore Law Lectures* before the Calcutta University. See *Tagore Lectures*, (1919), p. 83; *Hindu Polity*, i. 147—148.

50 *Mahâ-Bhârata*, *Śânti p.*, 105. 5 (Kumbakoṇam ed.)

51 Cf. *C.H.I.*, p. 355, n.

I have given other reasons elsewhere[52] for placing the Nâbhaka and the Nâbha *paṅkti*, or 'Nâbha lines,' in Gandhâra, on the authority of the grammatical literature, where they appear as *Nabhâka* and *Urṇa*[53] *Nâbha*. *Paṅkti* is a synonym of *śreṇi*, 'line,' which is often used to denote a league of republicans. The Nâbhakas and Nâbha-paṁtis had their confederacy of eight city-states. If we take the second member as *Nâbha Paṁti* (as we already have the Nâbhakas), the **Paṁti** would be 'the Paṁtis' in league with the Nâbhas, and would be identical with the **Paktyes** or people of the Paktyika or Paktyike country named by Herodotus.[54] The Nâbhas occupied the country just to the south of the gold-trading Dardistânîs.

Nabhâka and Nâbhâka occur as designations of Ṛishis in the Ṛigveda. Nâbha-nediṣṭha Mânava is well-known as one who was left out in partition by his father, Manu. *Nâbha-nediṣṭha*, 'nearest in descent,' has retained that meaning in the Avesta (*Vedic Index*, i. 442). The Nâbhas appear to have been a Vedic community.

The Nâbhas are now the Paṭhâns of the Swât valley. Their seat (*dhâna*) was the 'way' (*pâṭa*, or *vâṭa*), and *Pâṭa-dhâna* or *Vâṭa-dhâna* was merely a descriptive title, not an ethnic name, as Paṭhân or Pâṭhân is today. It was evidently the ancient Nâbhas or Nâbhakas who were described by Varâhamihira as the 'city states' (*grâma-râṣṭrâṇi*) of the Vâṭadhânas, who are located along with the Yaudheyas and Trigartas, etc. :

Traigartta-Paurava-Ambaṣṭha-Pârata-Vaṭadhâna-Yaudheyâḥ,
Sârasvata-Arjunâyana-Matsyârdha-grâma-râṣṭrâṇi (*Bṛihat-S.*, XVI, 22).

V. Aśoka's International Conquest by Dharma, and his so-called "Ashashu" (Correctly, Ashurshu='in Syria').

In Rock Proclamation XIII we have (quoting Hultzsch's translation)

"and that *Dharma-vijaya* ('Conquest by Dharma') of Devânâṁpriya has been, again, obtained

(*a*) "here (*iha*, *idha*) ;

(*b*) "and in all the *aṁtas* (=frontier states of neighbours- *shaveshu cha aṁteshu*) ;

(*c*) "*Ashashupi yojanashateshu* (K. reading of Hultzsch) where the Yavana king Aṁtiyoka (lives or rules) (*yatra Aṁtiyoko nama yona-laja* (Shâhbâzgaṛhi) ;

(*d*) "beyond this Antiochus (where) the four kings (rule)....(*paraṁ cha tena Atiyokena chature rajani*,.... (Shâhbâzgaṛhi) ;

(*e*) "to the south—in Choḍa-Paṁḍa down to Ceylon (*Taṁbapaṇî*) ;

(*f*) "similarly here in the non-monarchical *vishaya*—amongst the Yonas..(etc.), everywhere (i.e., in all the above places) Devânâṁpriya's *Dharma-anushasti* (instruction or command on Dharma) is followed ;

(*g*) "and even there where the envoys of Devânâṁpriya do not go (the peoples) having listened to the Devânâṁpriya's *Dharmavutaṁ* (the law of conduct,) *vidhânaṁ* (authoritative rules and ceremonies) (and) *Dharmânuśasti* (Dharma commands) obey them (*anuvidhiyaṁte*)."

We may note, in passing, that *dharma-vutaṁ* is a technical term of Buddhism,[55] meaning the seven points of proper conduct (*satta vuta-padaṁ*), viz., supporting one's parents, revering one's elders, kind language, abstinence from backbiting, abstinence from selfishness, truthfulness, and restraining anger (*Dh.*, 185, 186, 189). This is in effect the Dharma preached by Aśoka.[56] Here the conquest of Dharma by the emperor in his own empire, including

[52] *Hindu Polity*, i, 145.

[53] Compare the modern name, Ûṇa (Pashtu, Unra), of the lofty ridge in eastern Swât identified by Sir Aurel Stein with the Aornos of Alexander's campaign (*A. S. I. Mem.* 42, pp. 89, 90).—C. E. A. W. O., Jt.-Editor.

[54] See Cary's trans., iii, 102 ; iv. 44.

[55] Childers, *Pali-English Dictionary*, p. 591, *s.v.*, *vuta-padaṁ*.

[56] Pillar, VII. EE, HH, Hultzsch, p. 136 ; Rock, III, IV. IX, XI, XII, G. ; Brahmagiri.

protectorates, and outside, is described. The outside area was composed of two classes, viz., (1) the countries to which imperial envoys were accredited, and (2) those countries which did not possess that political dignity. Some of the countries to whose courts Indian ambassadors were deputed are noted by the mention of their rulers by name (in the case of the Greek sovereigns) or by the mention of the States (e.g., Choḍa, Paṁḍa and Taṁbapaṇî (Ceylon).[57] There were states where Aśoka's envoys did not go; and one of these must have been the Satiyaputra which is mentioned in R.P. II, but is omitted in R.P. XIII from the list of the higher international states. The enumeration of the states in India follows a geographical order. The Satiyaputra state is placed between Kerala and Pâṇḍya, and we can be certain of its position as being in the Tinnevelly district. *Sâtûr* (old form *Satiyûr*) in that district probably marks their capital. It was in this district that was situated the port of Korkai or Kolkai, near the mouth of the Tâmraparṇi river, whence vessels sailed for Ceylon. The states in (*b*) to (*e*) are definitely named, and are implied to be ambassadorial states. The states in (*e*), i.e., in Europe and Africa, are given, evidently, in the order of their individual importance.

'Ashashu.'

(*c*) [Bühler's and Hultzsch's reading] has been translated thus (Hultzsch, p. 70) :—

"even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred *yojanas*, where the Yona king named Antiyoka (is ruling),

and (*d*) thus :—

"and beyond this Antiyoka (where) four — 4 — kings (are ruling)...."

Ashashu pi is taken as *â-shashu pi*, and rendered "even as far as six." There are serious objections to this interpretation. *Pi* is after *ashashu*, and not after *yojana-shateshu*. Why should 'six' be emphasised ? If distance was to be stressed, then why was not the greater distance of the countries beyond that of Antiochus given ? Then, we have *a* [अ] at Kâlsî, not *â* [आ]; if *â* ('up to,' 'as far as') was intended, we would expect *â*, as in R.P. II (Girnâr : *â-Taṁbapaṇî*), and in R.P. IV (Dhauli : *â-kapaṁ*). Excluding Kharoṣṭhî versions, where long *â* is always omitted, we have nowhere *a* used for *â*, and everywhere *â* given in full force (Pillar II : *â-pâna*). As Aśoka's 'Conquest of Dharma' certainly extended beyond 600 *yojanas*, there would be no sense in giving the lesser distance of the place where Antiochus lived or ruled if distance was to be emphasised.

Correct Reading : Ashurshu.

The second letter is not *sha*, but *shu*. See the plate of Shâhbâzgaṛhî (Hultzsch, pp. 68-69).[58] The *u*- mark to the first *sh* at Mânserâ is also clear ; it is only a little more slanting and a little irregular (see Hultzsch's plate opposite p. 84). Its third and last occurrence at Kâlsî (plate, p. 50, line 6) has a very thin tail to the bottom of *sh*. We have thus at Shâhbâzgaṛhî and Mânserâ *Ashu*°, and at Kâlsî, *Ash*(*u*)°. Further we may distinguish on the top of the second *sh* at Kâlsî a wavy horizontal line, distinguishable more easily in the plate of Bühler (*E. I.*, II, p. 460), and a clear *r* added to the bar of the second *sh* at Shâhbâzgaṛhî and Mânserâ. The complete word, thus, is *Ashurshu*, and the base *Ashur*.

Now Ashur or Ashu should be in a position from where ('beyond' which) one could get into the territories of the four 'neighbouring kings' (*sâmîpa-râjâno*,[59] Girnâr ; *sâmaṁtâ lâjâne*, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa). Such a position would be the sea-coast of Syria or Asia Minor, but as the first neighbour of Antiochus is the king of Egypt in the inscriptions, we have to take the country of Ashur as Syria, and probably not Assyria. Here, as in Herodotus, Syria is called Ashur (Assyria), not Shur.

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57 *Taṁbapaṇî* is undoubtedly Ceylon. According to Hindu geography, *Tâmraparṇa* (*Tâmravarṇa*) was a *dvîpa* separated from India by sea (*Matsya*, Ch. 113 ; *Vâyu*, Ch. 45, 70-78). The expression *ava*, 'down to,' denotes that in the south (*nîchaṁ*) it was the southernmost state. The river Tâmraparṇî is in the Pâṇḍya country, and Paṁḍa is already separately mentioned. Megasthenes also has Taprobanê for Ceylon (McCrindle, p. 62), which corresponds to *Tâṁbravaṇî*.

58 If Ashu is the form, it would correspond to the proper-name forms found in the cuneiform documents of the reigns of Antiochus I and his father.

59 Not *sâmîpaṁ râjâno*, as Hultzsch reads. There is no *anusvâra* ; see plate, p. 4.

ON THE REIGN OF KṚṢṆA II, THE RÂṢṬRAKÛṬA.

BY NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA, M.A.

SPEAKING of Pṛithivîrâma, son of Mĕṛada, who was the first of the Raṭṭas to attain the position of a Great Chieftain (*Mahâ-Sâmanta*), during the reign of the Râṣṭrakûṭa king, Kṛṣṇarâjadêva, the Saundatti inscription of the Raṭṭas, dated in 1096 A.D.,[1] incidentally refers to his Râṣṭrakûṭa patron, and in doing so maintains that "seven hundred and ninety-seven years of the Śaka era having elapsed, in the Manmatha samvatsara, that king caused a temple of Jina to be built in the village of Sugandhavarti and allotted to it eighteen nivartanas."[2] The date referred to corresponds to 875-76 A.D., and the context, which is replete with a brilliant description of a great king, is evidently applicable in so far as the builder of the said temple is concerned, to Kṛṣṇarâjadêva, and not to Pṛithivirâma, who was no 'king' at all, and hence no claimant to all those superior royal epithets. According to the following lines of the same inscription, Pṛithivîrâma himself, too, had had erected shrine of Jinêndra, the locality of which, however, is not precisely known. Now, the only king of the Râṣṭrakûṭa dynasty with the name of Kṛṣṇarâja who could possibly reign in or about the above date was Kṛṣṇa II, son of Amôghavarṣa I, and the late Dr. Fleet, who edited this inscription, first admitted it. But since the Kanhêri inscription of 877-878 A.D.[3] of Amôghavarṣa I's reign appeared *prima facie* in conflict with the reign of his son in 875-76 A.D., he later on "applied it as furnishing a date for Kṛṣṇa II as Yuvarâja under his father Amôghavarsha I...."[4] But that again fell short of consistency with the imperial titles that have been used of Kṛṣṇarâja. So he ultimately concluded that

(1) the king who caused the temple to be erected at Sugandharvarti in 875-76 A.D. was not Kṛṣṇarâja, but the Mahâsâmanta Pṛithivîrâma ;

(2) the very "date of A.D. 875-76 cannot be an authentic one for Pṛithivîrâma ; for we know, from another of the Saundatti records, that he was the grandfather of a certain Śântivarman................who was the ruling Mahâsâmanta in December, 980 A.D. and the range of a hundred and five years for the three generations is far too great";

(3) "the real patron and sovereign of Pṛithivîrâma must have been Kṛishṇa III", whose earliest known date is 940 A.D., and that the Saundatti record of 1096 A.D. "makes a confusion between Kṛishṇa III and his ancestor Kṛishṇa II."[5]

But if two generations of kings could be on a throne in 814[6] and in 911 A.D.,[7] as were Amôghavarṣa I and his son Kṛṣṇa II, and if the Râṣṭrakûṭa Chieftain Nandarâja, or Nannarâja, alone could rule for a period of at least 78 years, as is evinced by his Tiwarkhêd and Multâi plates, a hundred and five years for the three generations might not be far too great. Secondly, Dr. Fleet overlooked the fact that the long reign of Amôghavarṣa was not a continuous one, which is borne testimony to by the versions of the *Praśnôttara-ratnamâlâ*,[8] and an inscription found at Aihôle by Fleet himself.[9] The fourth line of this

1 *Jour.Bo.Br.R.A.S.*, X, 194-98.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 200.
3 *I.A.*, XIII, 135-36.
4 *Ibid.*, XXXII, 220.
5 *Ibid.*
6 As indicated by the Sirur and Nîlaguṇḍa inscriptions of the 52nd regnal year of Amôghavarṣa I, and dated in 866 A.D.—*I.A.*, XII, 216 f.; *E.I.* VI, 98 f.
7 *I.A.*, XII, 222.
8 *I.A.*, XII, 217-18, and XIX, 379.
9 *I.A.*, XX, 114.

inscription reads: *Śrî-Amôghavarsham nava-râjyam--gêyê*, i.e., 'while the glorious Amôghavarsha is reigning again,' and there are several copies of one, viz., the Digambara Jaina, recension of the *Praśnôttara-ratnamâlâ*, a short treatise on the rules of good conduct, of which the concluding verse runs as follows :—

Vivêkâkt-tyakta râjyêna râjñeyam Ratnamâlikâ rachit-Âmôghavarṣêṇa sudhıyâm (or *su-dhiyâ*) *sadalaṁkṛitiḥ.*

"This garland of gems, an excellent ornament for the earned, was composed by king Amôghavarsha, who gave up his kingdom owing to his discriminative knowledge"[10] (or, as the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar put it, "in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit in him.")[11]

Thus, there might well be a temporary break about 875-76 A.D. in Amôghavarṣa I's reign, when Kṛṣṇa II might have acted as the king. We have now at our disposal also the Sanjan plates of Amôghavarṣa I, according to which he had, even before 871 A.D., the date of the plates, relinquished his kingdom more than once.[12]

An analogous instance of a king renouncing the throne out of spiritual fervour and again occupying it is furnished by Sron-tsân-Gâmpô, the Charlemagne of Tibet (seventh century), who, when a son of his reached the thirteenth year of his age, abdicated the throne in his favour and retired into solitude to pass his days in meditation, but resumed royalty when the son died at eighteen.[13] What exactly led Amôghavarṣa I to resume royalty after ceding it time and again cannot be divined, but in any case, we are not justified to correct or modify the text of the Saundatti inscription of 1096 A.D.

Amôghavarṣa I had embarked upon a disastrous campaign against the (Eastern) Câlukyas, and the fire of his prowess is said to have 'burnt the Câlukya race.'[14] Contest with these Câlukyas of Vêṅgi seems to have been a very significant event of Kṛṣṇa II's reign. Guṇaka-Vijayâditya III of this dynasty 'having made the firebrand Kṛṣṇa frightened and distressed, burnt his excellent city,'[15] (Mânyakhêta). The Sirur and Nîlguṇḍa inscriptions of the time of Amôghavarṣa I refer to his being worshipped by the lord of Vêṅgi,[16] and the terrible invasion of Guṇaka-Vijayâditya III must have taken place after 866 A.D., the date of the two inscriptions, and probably also after the death of Amôghavarṣa I. On the other hand, the catastrophe had befallen the Râṣṭrakûṭas before 888 A.D., when Guṇaka-Vijayâditya had ceased to be a king, and Bhîma I, his nephew, had been on the Câlukyan throne.[17] This, we should note, brings the date of the real accession of Kṛṣṇa II within a narrower limit, which extends from 877-78 A.D., the last known date of Amôghavarṣa I, to 888 A.D., the first known date of Kṛṣṇa II.

The Vêmalurpâdu plates of Ammarâja II disclose the fact that Kṛṣṇa II later on went to wreak his vengeance upon the Eastern Câlukyas by falling upon Bhîma I and overrunning the land of Vêṅgi, but that the latter succeeded in freeing his territory from the Râṣṭrakûṭa aggression.[18]

We need not seriously doubt that "...............the support which Kôkkala (I, the Cêdî king) lent to Akâlavarṣa (Kṛṣṇa II) was given in all likelihood at the time when the latter was defeated, and his capital Mânyakhêta occupied, by the Eastern Câlukya king

10 *I.A.*, XIX, 379.
11 *Bom. Gazetteer*, vol. I, Pt. II, p. 201.
12 *E.I.*, XVIII, pp. 248, 255.
13 *JASB.*, 1881, pp. 221-22.
14 *E.I.*, IV, 287, vv. 13-14.
15 *I.A.*, XII, 221.
16 *Vaṅg=Aṅga-Magadha-Mâlava-Vêṅg=îśair-architô=Tiśaya-dhavalaḥ.*
17 *I.A.*, XX, 102-103 ; Duff's *Chronology of India*, pp. 81 and 279.
18 *E.I.*, XVIII, 231 ; *I.A.*, XX, 103.

Guṇaka-Vijayâditya III."[19] But the question is if Kôkkala I married his daughter with Kṛṣṇa II,[20] prior or posterior to the help he rendered to the Râṣṭrakûta prince in the South. The former alternative, however, would give us a reason why Kôkkala should help Kṛṣṇa, and facts seem to corroborate it. King Indra III, grandson of Kṛṣṇa II, died in 917-18 A.D., leaving behind two sons who had attained such age as to succeed him on the throne. Supposing Indra III died when about thirty, at the earliest, we get at 887-88 A.D. as the hypothetical date of his birth, at the latest. His father Jagattuṅga II, who, though he did not reign, may yet be said to have lived for at least some twenty-five years, for he, too, had got two sons in Indra III and Amôghavarṣa III. Thus Jagattuṅga may be supposed to have been born sometime in the first half of the seventh decade of the ninth century A.D., if not earlier, and his father, Kṛṣṇa II, had been wedded to the daughter of Kôkkala I anterior to that, while the onslaught of Guṇaka-Vijayâditya III on Mânyakhêta could not have possibly taken place so early. Kôkkala I thus seems to have succoured Kṛṣṇa II as his son-in-law, and this most probably not during the lifetime of Amôghavarṣa I.

From the Bângarh grant of Mahîpâla I, the 9th of the Pâla monarchs, as also some other Pâla inscriptions of Bengal, we know that Râjyapâla married the daughter of a certain Tuṅga of the Râṣṭrakûṭa family.[21] Prof. Kielhorn identified this Tuṅga with Jagattuṅga II.[22] An inscription found at Bôdh-Gayâ "records the dedication of a repository for aromatics and incense, or a well-scented temple (i.e., *Gandhakûṭî*) for the service of Buddha" and "the dedicator was a king named Tuṅga, grandson of Nanda, a Râhtor prince ("of the race of Râṣṭrakûṭa") who once took or held the fort of Maṇipur................"[23] The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee opined that the father-in-law of Râjyapâla was this Tuṅga of Magadha, of the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription.[24] But it does not necessarily follow from the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription that Tuṅga, grandson of one who was in the possession of Maṇipura, had been the lord of Magadha. He, as a Buddhist, might well have visited Bôdh-Gayâ in course of a pilgrimage. Granting, however, he had succeeded in carving out a principality of his own in Magadha, it would come to mean that Tuṅga's usurpation of the Magadhan soil followed either from the hands of the (Gurjara) Pratihâras or from those of the Pâlas themselves. But, in any case, he who had tried to make intrusion and establish supremacy in Magadha, could not be friendly with the Pâlas, and thus no matrimonial alliance was possible between these two houses at that time. Again, the description of Tuṅga, as it is in the Bângaṛh inscription [" the high (*tuṅga*) high-crested (*uttuṅga-mauli*) moon of the Râṣṭrakûṭa family (*Râṣṭrakûṭ=ânvay=êndu*)][25] makes it indubious that the father-in-law of Râjyapâla, far from being a petty prince, like Tuṅga of the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription, did belong to the Imperial Râṣṭrakûṭa family. 'Tuṅga' is a general epithet borne by the Imperial Râṣṭrakûṭas,[26] and Kṛṣṇa II was called Subhatuṅga, with whom Mr. N. N. Vasu identifies the father-in-law of Râjyapâla.[27] This appears to be more tenable than Prof. Kielhorn's identification with Jagattuṅga II, in view of the fact that the latter did not come to the throne at all, while Kṛṣṇa II had actually been a contemporary of Râjyapâla's father, Nârâyaṇapâla, whose reign covered the latter half of the ninth century.

19 *E.I.*, VII, 29.
20 *I.A.*, XII, 250, 253.
21 Cf. *E.I.*, XIV, 329, vv. 7-8; *JASB.*, LXIX, pt. 1, p. 69
22 *JASB.*, LXI, 80, n. 9.
23 R. L. Mitra, *Bodh-Gaya*, Ch. V, inscription No. 8, p. 194.
24 *Bâṅglâr Itihâsa*, vol. I, 2nd ed., p. 216; *Mem.A.S.B.*, vol. V, p. 62.
25 *JASB.*, LXI, 80.
26 Cf. the Karhad Plates of Kṛṣṇa III, v. 6—*E.I.*, IV, 287.
27 *Vaṅger Jâtiya Itihâsa, Râjanya Kâṇḍa*, p. 168.

MISCELLANEA.

INDIA AND THE EAST IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

Djâwâ, 11 Jaargang, Nos. 5 and 6 (1931).—These parts contain a general survey of the indigenous industries of Java, Madura, Bâli and Lombok. The survey is the outcome of a resolution passed at a meeting of the Java Institute in 1928. The committee nominated to deal with the subject drew up and circulated questionnaires formulated in a methodical manner. The industries have been tabulated under 26 heads, and the information gathered by the inquiries has been collated and systematically presented by regencies, divisions, districts and sub-districts under each of those heads. Appended is a summarised tabular statement, arranged according to administrative divisions, i.e., on a geographical basis. The result is a valuable record for purposes of reference and for the use of any person interested in a particular industry or handicraft.

Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, XXXI, Nos. 1 and 2, Jan.-June, 1931.—In this number M. G. Coedès contributes another three of his 'Cambodian Studies.' In the first he presents revised readings of two Sanskrit inscriptions (1) from the knoll of Thápmuòi, and (2) from Tà Prohm (Bati), which have hitherto been regarded as 'Cambodian' inscriptions, but which, he now conclusively shows, should be relegated back to Fou-nan times, and ascribed to the fifth century A.D. These inscriptions, one of which names the two last kings of Fou-nan, Jayavarman and his son, Rudravarman, while the other (the older) names a king with the title "moon of the lineage of Kauṇḍinya," are of interest for more than one reason. They confirm the information derived from Chinese sources as to the spread of Indian culture to the East and the favour which Hinduism and Buddhism enjoyed there; and they prove that it was not the Kambujas who introduced the custom of recording inscriptions on stone. Readers of the *I.A.* will be interested to notice the almost exact similarity (to which M. Coedès has drawn attention) between the *akṣaras* used in these inscriptions and those of the Uruvupalli copper-plates of Sir Walter Elliot's collection, described by Dr. Fleet at pp. 50-53 of vol. V (Feb. 1876) of this journal.

In the second note (26) M. Coedès shows that the foundation of Kòḥ Ker and the installation of the royal god (styled Tribhuvaneśvara) must be antedated by seven years, i.e., from 928 A.D. (according to Aymonier's reckoning) to 921 A.D. The correction raises some interesting points, which have been indicated.

Journal Asiatique, CCXX, 2, Apr.-June, 1932.—In our issue of Jan. 1932 (vol. LXI, p. 17) we referred to a note by M. Robert Fazy on the subject of an eclipse of the sun in the time of Aśoka. M. Fazy suggested that the eclipse referred to in the story recorded by Hsüan-tsang was one which, according to Oppolzer's *Kanon der Finsternisse* (1887), occurred on the 4th May 248 B.C. M. D. Sidersky, in the issue before us (pp. 295-297), now points out that the tables on which Oppolzer worked have since been revised by C. Schoch (1928), and that eclipses visible in the East occurred on the 4th May 249 (not 248) and the 15th June 242 B.C. He suggests that the story related by Hsüan-tsang may have referred to the latter eclipse, which would have been almost total in the vicinity of Baroda, and sufficiently noticeable at Benares and the neighbouring areas, and that the interval of about seven years since Aśoka's pilgrimage (? 249 B.C.) to the spots sacred to the memory of the Buddha might have been employed in the construction of the legendary 84,000 *stûpas*. It is important that the correct dates of these eclipses should be thus recorded.

The article entitled "Is Wâḳwâḳ Japan?" by M. Gabriel Ferrand proposes a most interesting solution of the origin of this peculiar name, so familiar to us from the accounts of the Arab geographers and others, as well as of the location of the people described by it. M. Ferrand's unrivalled knowledge of the Chinese and Arab geographical texts enables him to establish, convincingly we think, that the islands, or the country of the Wâḳ-wâḳ was not Japan, as M. J. de Goeje was disposed to hold. He traces the application of the name not only to a locality in the Eastern Archipelago, but also to the south-east coast of Africa, and he cites the opinion of Mr. R. N. Hall, who had long studied the question in those parts, that it was derived from the Bantu, who applied it to the Bushmen in mimicry of their speech, as being like the bark of the baboon (which closely resembles *waḳ-waḳ*). We seem to have here further evidence of the intercommunication in early times between the Malay Archipelago and Madagascar and the south-east coast of Africa, as well as, perhaps, of the conception, preserved in the maps of Ptolemy and the Arab cartographers, that the continent of Africa extended eastwards, enclosing the Indian Ocean on the south. M. Ferrand is inclined to hold that the *Pandanus utilis* (the *wakwá* of Madagascar) was the original of the legendary *wâḳ-wâḳ* tree, and that the association of wealth in gold with the people so called points to Sumatra (the 'golden island'). In fact he concludes that the Oriental Wâḳ-wâḳs were inhabitants of Sumatra, whom he would identify with the Pakpaks, a Batak tribe that dwell in what the Dutch call Pakpakland, a territory in the north-west of the Tapanuli province, in the north-west of Sumatra, not very distant from the Baroes islands (the *Bâlûs* of the Arabs and the *P'o-lou-che* of the Chinese travellers).

Acta Orientalia, IX, Pts. ii and iii, 1931.—This issue is devoted to a most valuable and scholarly work, viz., a translation from the Tibetan, with introduction and notes, by E. Obermiller of Leningrad of the

Uttaratantra, the fifth of the five treatises ascribed to the Bodhisattva Maitreya, with commentary by Âryasanga (fourth-fifth century A.D.).

In vol. XI, Pts. i and ii, M. Obermiller similarly presents a translation of the fourth of those treatises, the *Abhisamayâlaṁkâra*.

The first of these treatises ascribed to Ârya Maitreya, the *Sutrâ-laṁkâra*, was edited and translated (1911) into French by M. Sylvain Lévi from a manuscript brought by him from Nepal. The second and third treatises, the *Madhyânta-vibhanga* and the *Dharma-dharmatâ-vibhanga*, remain to be translated. The *Uttaratantra* is perhaps the most interesting of all five, as containing an exposition of the most developed monistic and pantheistic teachings of the later Buddhists and of the special theory of the Essence of Buddhahood, the fundamental element of the Absolute, as existing in all living beings. M. Obermiller is to be warmly congratulated upon the appearance of these two translations, which place students of Buddhism under a deep obligation to him. The work has been admirably performed, and we only wish that it (and perhaps certain other volumes of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*) could be made available to scholars at smaller cost.

Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, IX, Pt. 1, 1932.—Among the papers in this number is one in which Th. Zachariae cites and comments upon a number of quotations from Buddhist Sanskrit texts in the works of certain commentators of Bengal who lived and wrote in the time of Lakṣmaṇasena (twelfth century A.D.). The references are interesting as indicating the spread of Buddhist culture at the period, and also because, as the writer notes, quotations from Buddhist works are seldom to be found in the commentaries on the classical poems, grammars and lexicons.

The much-debated question of the origin of Zarathuṣtra is the subject of another paper by O. G. von Wesendonk, who, while drawing attention to available evidence and the more recent views expressed by others, comes to no very definite conclusion. He thinks it may be regarded as not at all unlikely that Zarathuṣtra, though his field of work lay in eastern and north-eastern Îrân, was a Mede; and that all that can be said with absolute certainty as to his epoch is that his activities long preceded the establishment of the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians.

In another article on 'The Morphology of Sanskrit,' which will appeal chiefly to students of linguistics, Max Walleser concentrates attention on the case of the locative sing. masc. neutr., citing a large number of suggested parallels or examples from various Asiatic and eastern European languages. The question raised as to the use of particles to specialise or individualise the purely verbal conception merits research in other families of languages.

C. E. A. W. O.

BOOK-NOTICES.

JAINISM IN NORTH INDIA, 800 B.C.—526 A.D., by CHIMANLAL J. SHAH, M.A. 11+7¼, xxiv+292 pp. 26 plates and two maps. Longmans, 1932.

In this work, a thesis submitted to the University of Bombay for the degree of Master of Arts and which appears as No. 6 in the series of "Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute" the author disclaims any pretensions to discoveries of his own or to having in any way extended the limits of oriental scholarship or research. What, however, he has done with considerable success is to follow, in the form of a continuous history, the fortunes of Jainism for some thirteen hundred years. To this history he sets two limits, one geographical, the other chronological, dealing with north India only and not beyond 526 A.D. when the list of canonical works was finally drawn up by the Council of Vallabhi. In his introduction the author points out the neglect that Jainism, despite its antiquity, had suffered at the hands of orientalists, but acknowledges how interest in that religion has been stimulated by the works of Jacobi, Bühler, Hoernle, Charpentier and Thomas. He discusses the question of the founder of the religion and accepts the view of Jacobi that Mahâvîra was not that founder. He considers that the historicity of Pârśva is undoubted and that he lived, in all probability, about 800 B.C. He then sketches the historical background and political conditions in the time of Mahâvîra, recounts the main incidents of his career, and details the basis of his teaching and the principal Jaina tenets. There is no minimizing of the schisms which rent the early church, and a brief account is given of the principal schismatics and of the epoch-making division into the Śvetâmbara and Digambara sects. To the vexed questions of the cause and date of this separation the author contributes nothing new, but points out that the idea that this occurred about the end of the first century A.D. is not entirely supported by the Mathurâ sculptures. In reviewing the relationship of the Jainas with the rulers of northern India from 800 B.C. to the end of the Mauryan period he endeavours to prove that they were generally either Jainas themselves or entertained friendly feelings towards that faith. The tradition that Chandragupta (Maurya) became a Jaina towards the end of his life is accepted, and the plausible suggestion is offered that the silence of the

Brâhmaṇical writers touching that powerful monarch may have been due in no small measure to that very fact. Close acquaintance is evidenced with all the leading authorities, but when the author turns to Jainism in Kaliṅga he has to fall back upon less reliable sources, the principal being the Khâravela inscription. Perhaps no epigraph has ever been subjected to such scrutiny with so little finality, and this section of the work, like the readings of that inscription, is very largely conjectural and open to criticism on points of fact and interpretation.

The author stresses the importance of the Mathurâ inscriptions for the history of Jainism in north India, affording as they do evidence of the flourishing state of that religion in the Indo-Scythian period and throwing light upon the religion itself. Nevertheless we consider it unlikely that in this period Jainism was, in Mathurâ itself, a serious rival to Buddhism, though it was certainly more tenacious of life, for from later inscriptions we know that the Jaina establishment on the Kaṅkali mound existed until the Muslim conquest, by which time all the Buddhist buildings had long fallen to ruin.

A survey is made of Jaina literature, and the author discusses how far the Digambara belief that the Siddhânta was completely lost or forgotten after the great famine in Magadha is justified, and notes the evidence furnished by the Mathurâ inscriptions on this point. He maintains that "the Jaina literature of the period under discussion does not yield to any other Indian literature either in quality or variety," and he has some justification for this belief.

The last chapter deals with the sculptural, architectural and pictorial contributions of the Jainas to the history of North Indian Art in general. This contribution is, we consider, small. We are prepared to accept the author's dictum that there is no such thing as a Jaina style of architecture or sculpture. But there are nevertheless Jaina monuments and sculptures. Touching the images in the Mathurâ Museum, Vogel writes that they are far inferior to contemporary Buddhist images and that their "conventionalism and uniformity will appal even the most enth siastic admirer of Indian art." No Jaina paintings of the period treated are preserved, and those u ed to illustrate the work are from a thirteenth century manuscript, and thus have no direct bearing on the subject under consideration. In this connection we note that the twenty-six plates are unnumbered and never once referred to directly in the text.

In his conclusion the author writes, "from the days of Pârśva or from 800 B.C. down to the conversion of the great Vokrama by Siddhasena Divâkara to the beginning of the Christian era and to some extent even throughout the Kushâṇa and Gupta periods Jainism was the most powerful religion in the north." The period, however, between the decay of the Kushâṇa power and the rise of the Guptas is one of the darkest in Indian history, and records of Jainism are lost in the general gloom. Even in Gupta times there is little in the way of inscriptions or other archæological evidence to prove that Jainism was more than tolerated under these essentially Brhâmaṇical rulers. The author seems to feel he has been unduly bold in his assertion, and in the very last paragraph of the book writes with commendable caution: "However, until the numerous Jaina inscriptions and manuscripts which exist everywhere in the north are collected and translated and until plans are made of the architectural remains and statistics gathered, it is idle to speculate upon the extent and strength of Jainism in the north or about its vicissitudes during its existence there."

A full and careful index and an invaluable bibliography add to the merit of this well-balanced and serviceable work. H. HARGREAVES.

BRAHMAN: eine sprachwissenschaftlich-exegetisch-religions-geschichtliche Untersuchung. By JARL CHARPENTIER, PH.D., I, II. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1932, Program 8. $9\frac{1}{4}\times6\frac{1}{2}$ inches: pp. iv+138. Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequist.

In the Ṛigveda even more than in other departments of Sanskrit literature our exact comprehension of the text is continually obstructed by the occurrence of words and phrases evidently used by the writers in a precise connotation, which is only apparent to us in somewhat vague outlines. Foremost among such words stands *brahman*, and the formidable task awaiting him who would elucidate it is apparent from the subtitle of this monograph, of which we have here the first two parts, dealing with the philological and exegetical sides of the question. Success obviously depends on the possession of specialist knowledge of Indo-European philology and of a complete mastery of Vedic and Avestan literature, and, as few scholars can rival Professor Charpentier in this combination, his views will carry unusual weight. Those, whose knowledge of the points in issue is of a purely general nature, like the reviewer's, can only judge his theory by seeing whether it makes Vedic religion more intelligible; any attempt therefore to estimate its value must be deferred till the appearance of the third part of the memoir, which will deal with its bearing on the history of religion.

The author starts with a brief consideration of the various solutions propounded in the past and devotes a number of pages to demonstrating the untenability of Hertel's propositions about this and other words in terms which are certainly drastic but not, in my opinion, unjustifiably so. In the end he dismisses Hertel's theories as 'empty fantasies,' 'not to be taken seriously,' and decides

that he has shown himself lacking in the capacity to deal with the exegesis of the Veda and the Avesta and with comparative philology. The case for the prosecution is supported by abundant evidence and the verdict will surely be accepted by most Sanskrit and Iranian scholars.

His own views may be briefly stated, though justice cannot be done to them in a few lines. In the first place he accepts the equation Sk. *brahman*= Av. *barəsman*, whose sponsors have been Haug and Hillebrandt, and holds that the original meaning survives almost intact in the latter word. From the meaning of 'a bundle of grass,' used mainly as sacrificial strew, which may possibly still be traced in one or two Vedic passages, we get the derived sense of 'magic' carried out by such grass, still to be found in the use of the *muñja* girdle. Thence it comes to signify generally 'magic,' 'magic rite,' 'magic action,' 'magic spell.' A large number of Ṛigvedic verses are critically examined, and it is shown that such a range of meanings gives them a much more forceful sense than they bear under the ordinary indefinite interpretations. Finally it is suggested that the word then developed on two lines, firstly into 'hymn' and secondly into the mystic sense which is so well-known to us. In the course of the discussion interesting sidelights are thrown on many passages, and bibliographical references are given on a generous scale. This inadequate summary will have entirely failed of its object if it does not induce readers, who have any interest in the Veda, to set to work at once on the study of an admirable book. In the reviewer it gave birth to the wish that, since the late Professor Macdonell died without giving us his eagerly awaited translation of the Ṛigveda, Professor Charpentier would step into the breach, and let us have the complete English translation, which we need so much and for which his learning and his command of our language so admirably fits him.

E. H. J.

INDIAN CASTE CUSTOMS, by L. S. S. O'MALLEY, C.I.E. Cambridge University Press, 1932.

The peculiar Indian institution known as 'Caste' has attracted widespread attention, and the number of books relating to it is legion. Some writers, such as Senart and his German critics, Dahlmann and Oldenberg, have discussed the way in which the caste system originated. There are many books containing a description of individual castes, of which Risley's *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* is one of the earliest and best-known examples. But hitherto there has been no general and comprehensive account of the actual working of the caste system and of its influence on the daily life of the people. A mass of information on this subject is to be found in various official records, and especially in the series of reports on the census of 1911, when the Census Commissioner invited the Provincial Superintendents to make a special study of the rules and restrictions which the caste system involves, of the penalties which are provided for their breach, and of the way in which they are enforced. The material thus provided has hitherto remained inaccessible to the general public. Mr. O'Malley, who was Superintendent of Census in Bengal in 1911, has now worked up this and other material in the excellent little book under review. He gives a very clear exposition of the social conditions which prevail under the régime of caste, and shows how a man must regulate his whole life according to the standards laid down by the community to which he belongs. He enumerates many typical rules and restrictions and describes the penalties which a man may suffer for neglecting them, and the way in which alleged offences are dealt with, and the penalties imposed and enforced.

In some parts of the book references are freely given, but in others they are omitted. For instance, no authority is quoted for the statement that some 'castes' insist on a man marrying outside his 'caste' (p. 2) and that some 'subcastes' also do so (p. 4). The book does not contain a definition of caste, but there can be no doubt that endogamy is its most essential feature. There are occasional exceptions to the general rule, but no group which prohibits endogamy can be regarded as a true caste or subcaste. The rule of exogamy applies to the smaller groups (*gotras*) which in the aggregate make up the caste or subcaste.

The chapter on the 'Untouchables' is of special interest at the present time. The people thus designated are themselves divided into a number of castes which are just as exclusive as the higher Hindu castes. The only thing they have in common is the slur of untouchability. This they can escape by conversion to Islâm or Christianity, as mentioned in the footnote on p. 159.

In the thoughtful chapter on modern tendencies more prominence might perhaps have been given to the rapid disappearance of communal restrictions amongst the educated classes in towns, who often dine freely not only with Hindus of other castes, but also with Muhammadans and Christians.

E. A. GAIT.

MEDIEVAL INDIA: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, by A. YUSUF ALI, M.A., C.B.E. Oxford and London, H. Milford, 1932.

This booklet, of about sixty pages all told, contains an English version of four lectures delivered originally in Urdu. Mr. Yusuf Ali defines medieval India as the period between Harsha and the Mogul Empire, and he illustrates the life of the time by sketching first the seventh, then the tenth and eleventh, and finally the fourteenth century, more attention being given to social than to economic detail. The main object of the lectures was to arouse the interest of the hearers, and direct them to the sources of information; and they are well calculated to serve this purpose in their English dress.

W. H. M.

INITIAL FRICATIVES AND AFFRICATES OF DRAVIDIAN.

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L. (MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE, ERNAKULAM).

THE affricates and fricatives occurring in initial positions of native Dravidian words are the following :—

I. (*a*) The affricate *c*- and its voiced variety *j*-.
 (*b*) The dental affricate *ts*- and its voiced variety *dz*-.
 (*c*) The dental sibilant-fricative *s*-.
 (*d*) The palatal sibilant-fricative *ś*-.

II. The labial fricative *v*-.

III. (*a*) The velar fricative *x* [x]
 (*b*) The glottal fricative or aspirate *h*-.[1]

I

[A] *The distribution of initial* c-, j-, s-, *and* ś- *among the dialects*:—

	c-	j-	ts-	dz-	s-	z-	ś-	ź-
Tamil							*	
Malayâḷam	*							
Kannaḍa	*	*			*			
Telugu	*		*	†	†			
Koḍagu	*							
Kûi					*			
Gôṇḍî					*			
Kurukh	*				† ?			
Brâhûî	*				† ?			

*=of common occurrence.
†=of rare ,,

[B] *The phonetic values of these sounds* :—

It would be necessary for the Dravidist who concerns himself with the history of these sounds to have a clear and definite idea of their precise phonetic values. The remarks made below regarding the values of the sounds of the southern dialects (Tamil, Telugu, Kannaḍa, Malayâḷam, and Tuḷu) are the result of personal observations made by the present writer. I have of course not had the help of instruments in analysing the peculiarities of these sounds, but I have tried to fix the common features of the enunciation of each sound by observing closely as many native speakers as possible. For the descriptions of the sounds of Kûi, Gôṇḍî, Kurukh and Brâhûî I have had to rely on grammars dealing with these speeches.

The fricatives of this group are *s*- and *ś*-. The voiced varieties[2] of the sound do not occur initially in any of the dialects of Dravidian.

The difference between *s*- and *ś*-, while unmistakable to the speaker and to the hearer, has resisted easy and summary definition by the phonetician, probably on account of the fact that several varieties of *ś*- could be produced, not all of which could be grouped together in one category on the basis of the features of articulation involved. Prof. Jespersen has pointed out (*Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, page 46) that no two phoneticians have definitely agreed in regard to the difference between *s* and *ś*. He has tried to get to the root of the matter by laying down the following rule: "There are two chief types of *ś* [*ʃ*]- sounds which differ in the manner of production but which have something in common, whereby they differ from *s*- sounds ; and that, therefore, should be the characteristic feature of difference,

[1] I have already dealt with the secondary glottal fricative of Dravidian in two previous papers of mine published in these columns.

[2] The voiced variety of this sound, viz., *ź* [=*dz*] easily merges into the affricate *j* [=ɟz] in the contexts in which it may be presumed to have occurred. *ź*, the voiced fricative, is unstable in medial positions also.

viz., the portion of the tongue which articulates is not the same as that which lies in normal rest-position exactly opposite to the point of articulation on the mouth-roof. In the case of *s*-, if I may so put it, a portion of the tongue becomes active towards the region of the mouth-roof exactly opposite, while if the same portion of the tongue becomes active with the neighbouring region of the mouth-roof, *ś* is produced; with one qualification, however, that when the region of the mouth-roof involved is that of the teeth, *s* is invariably produced."

Prof. Jespersen has noted two main varieties of *ś* :—one produced by the anterior portion of the foreblade of the tongue working against a region of the mouth-roof which lies farther back than that which, in rest-position, lies opposite to the foreblade of the tongue. This is the initial sound in English *shed*, *shall*, etc. The other variety is produced by a portion of the tongue-surface farther back than in the above, operating against a more forward region of the mouth-roof.

So far as Dravidian[3] is concerned, I have noted the following peculiarities. In Tamil where *ś*- in initial positions is general, except in Tinnevelli and Jaffna, the fricative is produced by the raising of the middle of the foreblade of the tongue against the region of the mouth-roof somewhat behind the teeth-ridge where a slight hole-like passage is formed through which air is allowed to escape. The sound approximates to the first variety of *ś* described by Jespersen, but the point of articulation appears to be a little more forward than that of the English sound. This is the value of *ś*- in Tamil words like *śâ* (to die), *śinna* (small), etc.

But, as we shall see later on, Tamil has an affricate *c* [=*cʃ* in IPA script] which is constituted of a plosive element and a fricative *ś*. This fricative element in [*cʃ*] is always produced in Tamil at a still more backward position than in the variety described above, so far as both the region of the mouth-roof and the portion of the tongue-blade are concerned. The region of the mouth-roof is almost the middle portion of the hard palate, i.e., the same point at which the plosive element [*c*] of [*cʃ*] or *c* of geminated medial *cc* of Tamil is produced.

In Malayâḷam, initially, *c* alone is used, while *ś* occurs only medially in native words. The greater frequency of *c* in initial positions of native words has led to all *ś*- sounds being enunciated on the model of the fricative involved in the affricate, i.e., at a slightly more backward position than for Tamil initial *ś*.

Telugu, Kannaḍa and Tuḷu *ś* is, so far as I could see, like the Malayâḷam sound produced at the position where the front stop element of the affricate *c* is produced.

The Dental Fricative.

s is produced in all the Dravidian dialects with the foreblade of the tongue directly raised against the combined region of the teeth and the gums.

The Affricates.

There are two groups belonging to this class :—

(1) *c* [=*cʃ*] and *j* [=ɟz], both of which appear in initial positions in Kannaḍa, Tuḷu and Telugu, while the voiceless variety alone is present in initial positions in Malayâḷam.

(2) *ts* and *dz* which appear as the variants of initial *c*- and *j*- in Telugu before the dorsal vowels *a*, *o* and *u*.

There appears to be little doubt that these sounds are genuine affricates, and not stops as they are usually described to be. In group (1) the plosive element *c* or *j* is discernible in

[3] Sanskrit *s* is a true dental; *c* and *j* are produced with the "upper flat surface of the tongue" against the palatal region, while in *ś* the "flat of the tongue operates against the forward part of the palatal arch." (Whitney's *Grammar*, pages 16 and 22.)

The descriptions of the sound *c* (ச) given by Tamil grammarians may be cited here :

Tolkâppiyam, *Sûtra* 89 of *Eluttadigâram* : சகார ஞகார மிடைநா வண்ணம் "*c* and *ñ* are produced with the middle of the tongue and the palate."

Nannûl, *Sûtra* 79 : "*c* and *ñ* are produced with the middle of the tongue and the middle of the hard palate."

For Tel. *ts* and *dz*, cf. Nannaya's Sûtra (10) : *addantyastâlavyaścur-vakrasyânmithasavarnaśca*

the contact and release of the tongue-blade on the region of the mouth-roof whose position is denoted by 'g' in Jespersen's alphabetic notation. Immediately after the release of the stoppage, a fricative *ś* or *ź* follows, so that the sounds are homorganic with two constituents, viz., the plosive and the fricative.

In the peculiar Telugu affricates *ts* and *dz*, the plosive and the fricative elements are dental.

Telugu *c* and *j* appear to be slightly more forward sounds (i.e., between the positions 'f' and 'g' of Jespersen's notation), than the Malayâḷam or Tamil variety. In fact these Telugu sounds retain their values only when the front vowels *i* or *e* follow them immediately. If the immediately following vowel is dorsal the plosive element *c* or *j* changes into *t* or *d*, and the fricative *ś* or *ź* changes to *s* or *z*. This is why Telugu words always possess in initial positions the affricates *ts* or *dz* when they are followed immediately by dorsal vowels.

[C] *Occurrence of these sounds in initial positions in different dialects.*

Tamil.—The same symbol denotes *ś* and *c* in Tamil; while used singly it has the value of *ś*[4] and when geminated it is evaluated as *cc* [=*ccf*]. *c* or *cc* usually never occurs in initial positions in Tamil. The value of *ś* is general for this Tamil initial fricative, whether followed by a front vowel or a dorsal vowel.

In the colloquial of certain districts and certain communities, however, this fricative becomes a dental *s*, when it is immediately followed by a dorsal vowel, e.g., *sâppâḍu* (meal), *sollu* (to speak), *suttu* (surrounding).

It may be noted that in these colloquials the dental *s*- is almost never heard when followed immediately by the front vowel -*i* or -*e*.

Sanskrit initial *s*- is transcribed by the Tamil symbol for *ś* or *c* except by Sanskrit-knowing scholars, who use a foreign *granthâkṣara* symbol (ஸ) for this purpose. Sanskrit-knowing persons or those who come in contact with them give the correct value to initial *s*- of Sanskrit words, even when it is transcribed with the symbol for *ś* in Tamil; but among others sometimes the symbol has been confused with its native Tamil value, so much so that a Sanskrit word like *sakala*, transcribed as சகல in Tamil is given the value *śagala*. Tadbhava words like *śiṅgam* (from Sanskrit *simha* 'lion'), are always pronounced with initial *ś*- except by pedants and purists. Cf. also the Tamil *tadbhava* adaptations *śantôḍam* (from Skt. *santoṣa*), *śuḻutti* (from Skt. *suṣupti*), etc.

Kannaḍa.—Native words appear to have initially both *c*-[5] and *s*-. The value of *ś* for initial sounds does not usually appear in native words. The symbols for these sounds are all separate, the alphabet of Kannaḍa (unlike that of Tamil) being modelled on the Sanskrit system.

c- :—	*cêḷu*, *têḷ* (scorpion)	.. cf. pan-Dr. *têḷ*.
	cadaṟ-, *kedaṟ* (to be dispersed)	.. cf. Tam. *śidaṟ*-, Tuḷu *kedaṟ*-, *jadaṟ*.
	ciccu (fire)	.. cf. Tam. *kiṭṭu*, Kann. *kiccu*, Tel. *ciccu*.
	cikka (small)	.. cf. Tam. *śiṟ*-, Mal. *ciṟukkan* (boy).
	civv-, *cîv*- (to peel) ..	.. cf. Tam. *śîv*-.
	ciric- (to titter)	.. cf. Tel. *kêr*-, Mal. *cirikk*-.
	cembu (bronze vessel) ..	.. cf. Tam. *śembu*.
s- :—	*sây*- (to die)	.. cf. Tam. *śâ*-, Br. *kah*-.
	sî (sweet)	.. cf. Tam. *tî*, *tên*.
	sîr, *ciṟ*-, *kiṟ*- (to become angry, to hiss)	.. cf. Tam. *śîṟu*, Br. *kiṟeng* (abuse).

[4] In certain districts (e.g., Tinnevelly) *c*- appears to be the value given to initial ச of Tamil.

[5] Initial *j*- in Kannaḍa native words occurs in *jên* (honey) —cf. Tam. *tên*-
jiṟ-, *giṟ*- (to scratch) — ,, ,, *kiṟ*-
jari- (to slide) — ,, ,, *śari*-

	suttu (round about) ..	.. cf. Tam. *ŝut't'ru*.
	sôl-, *tolag-* (to fail) ..	.. cf. Tam. *tôl-*.

Tuḷu.—Initially *c-*, *j-*, *s-* and *ś-* are found, the last-mentioned (in the colloquial of certain communities) alternating with *s-*.

c- :—	*cêḷu*, *têḷu* (scorpion) ..	.. cf. Tam. *têḷ*.
	cârœ, *târœ* (coconut-tree)	.. cf. Tam. *tâḻai*.
	caḍpu (leanness)	.. cf. Mal. *caḍappu*.
	cînt- (to burn)	.. cf. Tam. *tîy-* (to scorch).
	cû (alternating with *sû*, *tû*, 'fire')..	cf. Tam. *tû* (bright).
	combu (bronze vessel) ..	.. cf. Kann. *cembu*, Mal. *cembu* and Tam. *śembu*, all these being from *kem-* (red).
	coli, *soli*, *tôl* (skin).. ..	.. cf. Tam. *tôl*.
j- :—	*jiñj*, *diñj-* (to be crowded)	.. cf. Tam. *tiṅgu*.
	jîrœ (small)	.. cf. Kann. *kir*, *gir*, *cinna* (small), Tam. *śiṟu*.
s- :—	*sîr-* (to hiss)	.. cf. Tam. *śîṟu*.
	suḍu (burning)	.. cf. Tam. *śuḍ-al*.
	suḷi- (to be peeled) ..	.. cf. Tam. *toli*.
	sû, *tû*, *hû* (fire)	.. cf. Tam. *tî*, Tam. *tu* (bright), Brâhûî *tû-be* (moon).
	seḷi, *teḷi* (to become clear)	.. cf. Tam. *teḷi*.

Note.—Tuḷu has a large number of sub-dialectal words with initial *s-*. A number of words appear in Tuḷu with the dialectal alternants *t-*, *s-*, or *h-*.

ś- :—	This sound alternates in some cases sub-dialectally with *s-*.	
	śî (sweet)	.. cf. Tam. *tî*, Kannaḍa *sî* (sweet).
	śird- (to correct)	.. cf. Tam. *tiru-ttu*, Kann. *tidd-*.
	śeṭṭ- (to be spoiled) ..	.. cf. Tam. *keḍu*.

Note.—*ś-* followed by dorsal vowels is absent in Tuḷu, except in Sanskrit borrowings with initial *ś-*.

Telugu.—Native words usually show *c-* (before front vowels), *ts-* and *dz-* (before dorsal vowels).

c- (before front vowels) :—

cîn-ts- (to tear)	.. cf. Tam. *kîṟ-*, Kannaḍa *gîṟ-*.
citsu (fire)	.. cf. Tam. *kiccu* and Kannaḍa *ciccu*.
ciṭṭ- (small) } *cinna* (small) }	.. cf. Tam. *śiṟu*, , Kannaḍa *cinna*.
ciṟṟa (anger)	.. cf. Tam. *śîṟ-*.
civvu (to peel)	.. cf. Tam. *śîv-*.
cîṟ- (to scratch)	.. cf. Tam. *kîṟ-*.
cen- (red)	.. cf. Tam. *śem-*, Kannaḍa *kem-*.
cêya (hand)..	.. cf. Tam. *kai*, Kann. *gey*, Gô. *kai*.
cevi (ear)	.. cf. Tam. *śevi*, Kannaḍa *kibi*, Gôṇḍi *kavi*, etc.

j- before front vowels is very rare in native words.

ts (before dorsal vowels) :—

tsats- (to die) .. .. .. cf. Tam. *śâ*-, Kann. *sâ*-, Malto *ke*-, Kurukh *khê*, Brâhûî *kah*-.

tsûḍ- (to see) .. .. .. cf. Tuḷu *tû*, *sû*, Gô. *suṛ*. Kûi *sûṛ*.

dz (before dorsal vowels) :—

dzâṛ- (to slide) .. .. .. cf. Tam. *śaṛakk*- (to slide).

dzâlu, *kâluva* (river, etc., stream) .. cf. Tam. *śâl* (canal). *kâl*- (to flow).

s- appears in words like *suḍi* (whirl).

Kûi.—*s*- is most common initially in native words of this dialect ; neither *ś*- nor *c*- appears.

s- :—

salba (to go) .. .. .. cf. Tam. *śel*.

sâva (to die) .. .. .. cf. Tam. *śâ*.

sêmba (to be sweet) .. .. cf. Tam. *tî*, *tên* (sweet).

sîva (to give) .. .. .. cf. Tel. *tiye*-, Gôṇḍî *sî*-, Kurukh *cî'i*-.

sûnja (to sleep) .. .. .. cf. Tam. *tûṅg*-, Brâhûî *tûgh* (to sleep).

supa (to spit) .. .. .. cf. Tam. *tupp*-, Kurukh *tup*- (to spit).

sûra (to see) .. .. .. cf. Telugu *tsûḍ* (to see).

j- :—Examples of *j*- words are rare.

Gôṇḍî.—The affricate in initial positions is rare in native words. *ś*- appears to be completely absent.

Instead, *s*- is very common.

In respect of the occurrence of initial fricatives, therefore, this dialect agrees with Kûi.

s- :—

sâi (to die) .. .. .. cf. Tam. *śâ*, Tuḷu *sai*- (to die), etc.

sî (to give) .. .. .. cf. Kûi *sî*.

sûr- (to look out for) .. .. cf. Kûi *sûr* (to see).

surr (to cook bread) .. .. cf. Tam. *śuḍ*- (to burn).

sirit- (to be set on edge) .. .. cf. Tam., Kann. *tiri*- (to be turned).

sîkaṭi (darkness) .. .. .. cf. Tel. *cîkaṭṭi* (darkness), Tam. *tî* (fire).

Native *j*- words seem to be very rare.

Kurukh.—Judging from the lists of words in Grignard's Dictionary, one might say that *c*- occurs in native words.

c- :—

cicc (fire) .. .. .. cf. Tam. *kiṭṭu*, Kann. *ciccu*.

cî'i (to give) .. .. .. cf. Kûi and Gôṇḍî *sî*.

cîr (to scratch) .. .. .. cf. Tam. *kîṛ*, Tel. *cîṛ*.

Most *s*- words appear to be foreign borrowings.

Brâhûî.—Complete lists are not available. I have selected the following from Bork's valuable compilation " Vorarbeiten zu einem Br.- Wörterbuch," and from Sir Denys Bray's " Grammar." An examination of these would show that the affricate is represented.

c- :—

ca / *tar* } (to understand) .. .. cf. Tam. *teri*- (to know).

cuna-k (small, child) .. .. cf. Tam. *śinna* (small).

s- :—Initial *s*- in native words appears to be a rarity. The following *may* be native :—

sil (skin) .. .. .. cf. Southern *tôl* (skin), Tuḷu *sôl*, *côl*.

[D] *The possible mutual relationship of these initial affricates and sibilants.*

The following significant facts may be singled out as emerging from an examination of the lists given above :—

(*i*) The affricate *c* appears to be widely prevalent in initial positions ; Kannaḍa, Tuḷu, Telugu, Malayâḷam, Kuru<u>kh</u> and Brâhûî show *c*-, and among these Malayâḷam, Telugu and possibly Brâhûî and Kuru<u>kh</u> favour only *c*-, while Kannaḍa and Tuḷu show a fairly large number of instances with *c*-.

(*ii*) *s*- appears exclusively only in Kûi and Gôṇḍî.

(*iii*) *ś*- appears to have become generalized in initial positions in Tamil.

(*iv*) It will be noticed that *c*- and its voiced variety *j*- are in most instances followed by front vowels. We shall see below that these affricates are due to the palatalization of *k*-(*g*-) (in most instances) and of *t*- (in a few others), cognates with *k*- and *t*- being widespread in the Dravidian speeches. The few very rare cases of *c*- followed by definitely dorsal vowels [as in the rare sub-dialectal Tuḷu *cû* (fire) alternating with *tû* and *sû*] are presumably due to analogy with other *c*- words, as we know that such instances of *c*- followed by back vowels are far less popular and common than their counterparts with *s*-, which are invariably met with as popular variants of such rare cases with *c*- in the same dialect.

Initial *ś*- and *s*-.[6]

(*i*) Wherever the affricates and sibilants are traceable to the palatalisation of *k*- or of *t*-, the process of change phonetically could not be otherwise than *c*- > *ś* > *s* (see below).

(*ii*) Tamil initial *ś*- colloquially sometimes changes to *s*-, when followed by dorsal vowels. The foreblade of the tongue, under the influence of the dorsal vowels, moves forward here to the dental position. The secondary character of the dental *s*- is obvious here.

(*iii*) The greater frequency in Tuḷu and Kannaḍa of *s*-[7] forms followed by dorsal vowels also indicates here the action of dorsality.

(*iv*) The production of the dental affricates of Telugu is directly conditioned by the immediately following dorsal vowels. Cf., e.g., *râsulu*, the plural of *râśi*.

In all these cases, the dental *s* appears to be secondary. It is *prima facie* possible, therefore, that *s*- in initial positions arose originally as a development of older sounds and became generalized in initial positions in the central Dravidian dialects Kûi and Gôṇḍî.

Relationship of c-, the affricate, to the sibilants.

(*i*) Phonetically *c*- is more closely related to *ś*- than to *s*-, since *c*- itself is composed of the front plosive [c] and *ś*. The point of articulation is the same for both *c*- and *ś*, and in palatalization (of *k*- and *t*-) the affricate is anterior to *ś*.

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[6] The so-called "change" of *s*- to -*c*- or -*cc*- (*vide* Kittel's *Gr. of Kannaḍa*, page 178) in compounds like *muccere* [=*mu*+*sere*], *muccâl* [=*mu*+*sâl*], is probably not a "change" or even a "reversion," but only a preservation in such compounds (where the initial component has a short vowel) of the older value of the affricate *c*.

[7] *Vide* my paper on "Tuḷu Initial Sibilants" in *QJMS*, January 1932.

(*ii*) This relationship accounts for the two values *c* and *ś* given to the symbol ச of Tamil. When the symbol appears singly in initial or medial positions, it is evaluated as *ś*, while geminated ச்ச in medial positions is pronounced as *cc* [=*ccʃ*]

That the initial *ś-* of Tamil (in at least a number of instances) is not original with reference to *c-* occurring in other dialects in corresponding positions, but may be the resultant of a uniform simplification of the affricate, is what we are led to infer from the following facts :—

(*a*) the occurrence of *c-* in initial positions in all Dravidian dialects (either partially or exclusively) except in Kûi and Gôṇḍî where, as we have observed above, the dental *s-* corresponding to *c-* or *ś-* has become uniform ;

(*b*) the uniform occurrence of *c-* in initial positions in the dialects of Jaffna and Tinnevelli, and in Malayâḷam, a dialect closely allied to Tamil,—which in this particular feature probably reflects an older stage common to these two dialects ;

(*c*) the traditional view of Tamil grammarians that ச stands for *c* [*cʃ*] and not for *ś-* ;

(*d*) the historical development of these sounds, which (as we shall see below) points on the whole to the affricate being anterior to the sibilant wherever palatalization has occurred.

All things considered, therefore, it would appear that in a very large number of cases of palatalization the relationship of the affricate *c-* [*cʃ*] and the fricatives *ś-* and *s-* in initial positions would stand thus :— *c-* → *ś-* → *s-*.

Among the dialects, generally speaking, the affricate sound is most widely prevalent in initial positions.

The palatal sibilant appears generalized in initial positions only in Tamil, and in Tuḷu it alternates with *s* sub-dialectally.

The dental *s-* has become generalized in initial positions in Kûi and Gôṇḍî only, while in Kannaḍa and Tuḷu, it appears beside other sounds.

[E] *Probable historical origin of the affricates and sibilants.*

As the above postulate is made merely on the basis of the occurrence of the sounds in the different dialects, it is bound to be tentative till it is confirmed by the actual historical development of these sounds in the past.

The question of the origin of these sounds has, therefore, to be examined next ; and this can be done only with reference to initial sounds of allied forms of different dialects.

(1) The initial affricates or sibilants of a number of Dravidian forms appear to be connected with *k-*[8] followed by *front* vowels. A number of instances have already been indicated in the lists given above ; the following are others :

k-	*c-, ś or s-*
Kannaḍa *kes-, kem-* (red)	Kann. *cen-*
Brâhûî *xisun* (red)	Tam. *śem-*

[8] For a detailed discussion of the instances in Dravidian of the palatalization of original *k-* to affricates and sibilants, see my paper on "The *k*-dialects of Dravidian," *Educational Review*, August 1931. A line of demarcation could be drawn between Tamil, Mal. and Telugu on the one hand and the rest of Dravidian on the other, in respect of palatalization of *k-* in a number of "criterion-words." Cases of initial *j-* ultimately traceable to *k-* also exist, some of them being voiced from *c-*, and others being directly connected with *g-* (*k-*).

Kurukh *xẽs* (red, blood) Malto *xes* (red)	Mal. *cen-*
Kannaḍa *kibi* (ear) Tuḷu *kebi* (ear) Gôṇḍî *kavi* (ear) Kurukh *xebda* Brâhûî *xaf*	Tamil *śevi* Mal. *cevi* Tel. *cevi*
Tel. *kiṭṭu* (fire) Kann. *kiccu* Tam. *kiṭṭu* Tuḷu. *kiccu* Gôṇḍî *kis*	Kurukh *cicc* Tel. *ciccu* Koḍagu *ciccu*
Kann. *kiṟu, kiṭṭu* (small) Tel. *kiṟ* Tuḷu *kinna*	Tam. *śiṟu* Brâhûî *cunak* Telugu *ciṟ, ciṭṭ-* Kann. *ciṟ*
Kannaḍa *keṭṭu* (to chip off)	Tam. *śeṭṭu* Mal. *ceṭṭu* Tel. *cekku*
Kannaḍa *key* (to do) Gôṇḍî *ki* Tel. *gey* Kûi *ki* Brâhûî *ka-* (to do)	Tam. *śey* Mal. *cey* Tel. *cey*
Kann. *key* (field) Burgaṇḍi *key* Tuḷu *key*	Tam. *śey* Tel. *cé-nu* Mal. *cey* in *pun-cey, nan-cey*
Kannaḍa *kiṟe, keṟe* (tank)	Tam. *śiṟai* Mal. *ceṟa* Tel. *ceruvu*

The following facts may be noted in connection with this change :—

(*a*) The sibilant *ś* appears more commonly in Tamil in the above instances, the affricate *c-* in Tel. and Mal. mainly ; while Kannaḍa (along with Tuḷu and the central and north Dravidian dialects) shows *k-* more commonly. The change, however, is not absolutely uniform, since on the one side *k-* forms are met with in Tam., Tel., etc., and on the other, instances of palatalization occur in Kann., Tuḷu, etc.

(*b*) The influence of the front vowel is undeniable in these instances in changing *k-* into the sibilant or affricate. Phonetically, palatalized *k-* becomes [*c*-], i.e., the stoppage of the plosive is formed in the region of the mouth-roof, by the posterior portion of the foreblade of the tongue. As this [*c*] is very unstable

in Dravidian, it should easily have changed to [*cf*], i.e., c-, with the production of the sibilant-fricative *ś*.

(*c*) In the above view, therefore, *k*- could be considered to be original.

If it is asked why this change did not affect all instances of *k*- followed by front vowels, we can only suggest that, judging from the above instances which are very ancient (their antiquity being attested by their occurrence in all dialects), the change was possibly active only at one particular stage in the past in connection with words where the palatalizing influence of the front vowels was strong. It is also possible that certain phonetic factors prevented the change in other cases; these factors are indicated by me in my paper on the "*k*- dialects of Dravidian."

(2) *k*- in the following corresponds to the affricate or sibilant in their cognates; but it will be noted that in some dialects, in the stead of -*a* we have *front* vowels also, so that the change here of *k*- to the fricative or affricate might have been through the palatalizing influence of the front tonality of *a* as attested by the existence of alternating front vowels in some dialects.

(*a*)	Brâhûî *ka* (to die)	*śâ*-, *sâ*- of the south.
	Kurukh *khê* (to die)	Gôṇḍî *sâi*-
	Malto *qe* (to die)	Kûi *sâ*-
		Tuḷu *sâi*-

We have to note in this connection that—

(*a*) there are *absolutely* no instances in Dravidian of the change of *k*- to affricates or palatal fricatives, *when followed exclusively by back vowels*, *k*- in such positions being invariably retained in the southern dialects and being changed (in some instances) to *x*- in Brâhûî, Kurukh and Malto;

(*b*) that even in this group the basic vowel of some of the extant forms is definitely 'palatal,'—a fact which attests the probable association of front tonality with the radical vowel of the common original base;

(*c*) and, therefore, it is possible that the affricates and fricatives in this group resulted from palatalization. (For further details, see my paper on "The *k*- dialects of Dr." in the *Educational Review*, August 1931.)

(3) The correspondence of initial *t*- followed by front vowels to affricates and fricatives is observable in the following inter-dialectal comparisons. It will be noted that, while we can classify, on a dialectal basis, instances of a similar correspondence in the case of *k*- followed by front wowels, and roughly demarcate the "*k*- speeches" of Dr. from the "non-*k*-speeches" (*vide supra*, page 148), no such demarcation is possible in the case of *t*- followed by front vowels.

We can only cite the few instances available from the dialects.

(*a*)	Kannaḍa ..	*cêḷu*, *têḷ*	~ cf. Tam. *têḷ*.
		sî-, *ṭî* (to be scorched)	~ Tam.-Mal. *tî* (fire), Brâhûî *ti-n* (scorched).
		jên (honey)	~ Tam. *tên* (honey).
	Tuḷu ..	*śikk*-, *cikk*-, *tikk*- (to be crowded)	~ cf. Mal. *tikk*- (to be crowded).
		cînt-, *śînt*-, *sînt*- (to burn)	~ Tam.- Mal. *tî* (fire).
		câræ, *târæ* (coconut tree)	~ Tam. *tâḻai*.

	cêḷu, têḷu	~ Tam. *têḷ*, Kann. *têḷ*, Brâhûi *telh*.
	śî, sî (sweet)	~ Tam.-Mal. *tên* (sweetness, honey) connected with *tîm-*, *tî* (sweet), Kurukh *ti-* (to be sweet), Tel. *tiyya* (sweet), etc.
	cê-, beside (sub-dialectal) *tê-*	~ South Dr. *têy-* (to be rubbed).
Kûi	..*seh-* (to be entangled)	~ cf. *tikk-* of Mal. above.
	semba (sweet)	~ cf. *tên, tî* (sweet) above.
	sî -k- (to scorch))	~ Tam.-Mal. *tî* (fire), Kann. *sîk* (burnt black).
	sî- (to give)	~ Tel. *tîy-* (to give), Br. *tin-*
Gôṇḍî	..*sî-* (to give)	~ *Vide* above.
	sikaṭi (darkness)	~ Tam.-Mal. *tî* (to be scorched).
Kurukh	..*cî-* (to give)	~ see *sî* of Kûi and Gôṇḍî above.

Instances of this type are found in Tuḷu, Kûi and Kannaḍa. Even in these dialects the change is not uniform and regular, as they possess numerous words with an unchanged *t-* in initial positions followed by front vowels.

(*b*) A few forms with initial *t-* (followed by *dorsal* vowels) of some dialects correspond to forms of other dialects with initial sibilants.

(i) Ancient forms :—

Tuḷu *sû, hû* (to see) .. .. Tel. *tsûḍ-* (to see) .. .. .. Kûi *sûr-* .. .. Br. *hûr-* .. .. Gôṇḍî *sûr* (to look out for), *hûr* (to see)	cf. Tuḷu *tû-* (to see), Malto *toṇḍ-*, *tuṇḍ-* (to see), Kann. *tôṛ* (to be visible), Tam. *tônd'r-*

(ii) A few others where the sibilants corresponding to *t-* are found in Tuḷu and Kûi mainly.

Tuḷu *solika*, alternating with *toli* (skin). Kannaḍa *soli, tôl, togal* (skin) ..	cf: Tam. *togal, toli, tôl* (skin), Tel. *tôl*, Kann. *tôl*.
Tuḷu *sôl-*, *tôl-* (to be defeated) .. Kann. *sôl* (,,)	cf. Tam. *tôl-* (to be defeated), *tolai* (to fail), Kannaḍa *tolagu*, Tel. *tolaṅgu*.
Tuḷu *supu-* Kûi *supa* } (to spit)	cf. Tam. *tupp-*, Kurukh *tup-*.
Kûi *sûnja* (to sleep)	cf. *sn. tûṅg-* (to sleep) ; Brâhûî *tûgh-* (to sleep) ; *tûṅgan* (asleep); Kurukh *tuṅgul* (dream) ?
Kann. *sôge, tôke* (tail, feather) ..	.. cf. Tam. *tôg-ai* (tail>peacock).

(iii) Apart from the above, there are a few instances of the sub-dialectal alternation of *t-*, *s-* (and *h-*) in Tuḷu, when followed by front vowels, as in *teḷi-*, *seḷi-*, *heḷi* (to become clear), and in the adaptations, (from Skt.) *sêja, têja* (lustre), *sîrta, tîrtha*, etc. Palatalization cannot be postulated here, in as much as the intermediate stages with *c-* or *ś-* are not represented either in Tuḷu or in any other Dr. speech. I would ascribe the change of *t-* > *s-* here to analogic fricatization.

(*i*) The correspondences of *t*- forms to others with initial sibilants or affricates do not appear to be very extensive or widespread inter-dialectally.

(*ii*) *t*- forms are retained extensively in large numbers in all dialects except in Tuḷu, where *t*- alternates with *s*- or *h*- in a large number of instances.

(*iii*) The problem of the relationship of *t*- to the initial sibilants and affricates is one beset with many difficulties. Few as are the instances that raise this question, the chronology of the change will have to be determined separately in each instance. This, however, is not now possible owing to lack of materials; and so we have to content ourselves with a few general perspectives.

-*t*- in connection with front vowels in medial positions is known in the dialects to change into the sibilant or affricate (cf. Tamil *aḍittu, aḍiccu*, 'having beaten,' etc.) on account of the influence of the vowel which raises the point of articulation of the tongue from the dental region to the alveolar position. A similar change (i.e., of palatalization) may safely be postulated in at least a few cases for the correspondences of words with *t*- followed by *front* vowels on the one hand, and their cognates with initial sibilants or affricates on the other.

(*iv*) So far as the parallels with immediately following *dorsal* vowels are concerned, two sub-groups may be distinguished (pointed out as (*b*) (i) and (ii) above, viz., one, comprised of an ancient group of instances occurring in all dialects; and the second, consisting of a few instances in Kûi and Tuḷu chiefly, and rarely in Kannaḍa; (*b*) (iii) is an exclusively Tuḷu group.

Is it possible for us to envisage the view that Dravidian intitial *t*- may here have been secondary to *s*- ?

(I) Tamil appears to have adopted and assimilated some Sanskrit words having initial fricatives, by changing these into *t*-, e.g., Skt. *śrî* ~ Tamil *tiru*; *senâ* (army) ~ *tânai*.

(II) Tuḷu changes initial *s*- or *c*- of some Sanskrit words into *t*-, e.g.,

Skt.	*sañci*	~	Tuḷu *tañji*
,,	*saṅgati*	~	,, *taṅṅati.*
,,	*candana*	~	,, *tannana.*

Besides, a few cases of secondary *t*- (*tai* < *sai* 'to die,' *teṭṭ*-<*seṭṭ*.) occur in native Tuḷu words sub-dialectally.

Do these facts in any way warrant the postulate that *t*- in the instances given here is secondary to the sibilant-fricative ?

An answer to this question should take into consideration the following facts :—

(*i*) Native *t*- forms are very widespread in the dialects, and the corresponding forms with the sibilants or affricates appear largely only in sub-dialectal forms of Tuḷu and in connection with a *few* forms (comparatively speaking) in the other dialects.

(*ii*) The few cases of the change of *s*- to *t*- in Tamil adaptations of Sanskrit words noted above could be explained as being due to different phonetic influences.

(*iii*) Tuḷu adaptations with initial *t*- of Sanskrit words with initial *s*- are probably due to the influence of the numerous sub-dialectal alternant forms with initial *t*- and *s*-.

(*iv*) In none of the native instances with *s*-, can we prove the sound to be original; on the other hand, the corresponding *t*- forms are so widespread as to suggest *t*- to be original.

These facts make it difficult for us to propound the view that would regard *t*- as secondary to the sibilant.

Nevertheless, one cannot completely rule out the ***bare possibility*** of at least rare cases of initial *t*- (in unrecognizable ancient loan-words) being secondary to the sibilant : Cf. for instance the suggestion raised by the correspondence : Tam. ***taṇ*** (cold) in ***taṇṇīr*** (cold water) ~ Tuḷu *saṇ* ~ Tuḷu *saḷi*, *caḷi* ~ IA *jaḷa*, *jala* (water). Nothing unequivocal can therefore be said in regard to the relationship of all *t*- words and their cognates with initial affricates and sibilants ; but in my opinion one may tentatively postulate fricatization in (3) (*b*) on the fairly firm ground available for us, viz., that the *t*- forms here, which are undoubtedly native, are so very widespread in the dialects and that the corresponding *s*- cognates are so few and so restricted in occurrence.

I. *Palatalization of k- and t- before front vowels.*

(1)

Tam. *ś*-	~ *k*-
Tel., Mal., [Kann., Tuḷu] *c*-	~ *k*-
[Kann., Tuḷu *j*-, as in Kann. *jīṛ*, *gīṛ* and in Tuḷu *jadaṛ*-, *gedaṛ*-]	~ *g*-(*k*-)
[Kann. *s*- alternating with *c*- and *k*-, as in *sīṛ*-, *cīṭ*-, *kīṛ*- ' to be angry ']	~ *k*-
[Tuḷu *ś*- beside *c*-, e.g., *śeṭṭ*-, *ceṭṭ* and Tam. *keḍ*-]	~ *k*-

(2)

[Kann., Tuḷu *c*- beside *t*-]	~ *t*-
[Tuḷu *j*- beside *d*- (*t*-)]	~ *d*-(*t*-)
[Kann., Tuḷu *s*- (a few only)]	~ *t*-
[Kûi, Gôṇḍi *s*- (<*ś-<*c-<t)	~ *t*-

II. *Fricatization of t-*

Tuḷu, Tel., Kûi, Gôṇḍi *s*- (in forms for " seeing ")	~ *t*-
Sub-dialectal Tuḷu [Kûi, Kann.] *s*- in (b) ii	~ *t*-
,, Tuḷu *s*- in (b) iii before front vowels	~ *t*- analogic fricatization.

[F] *Conclusion.*

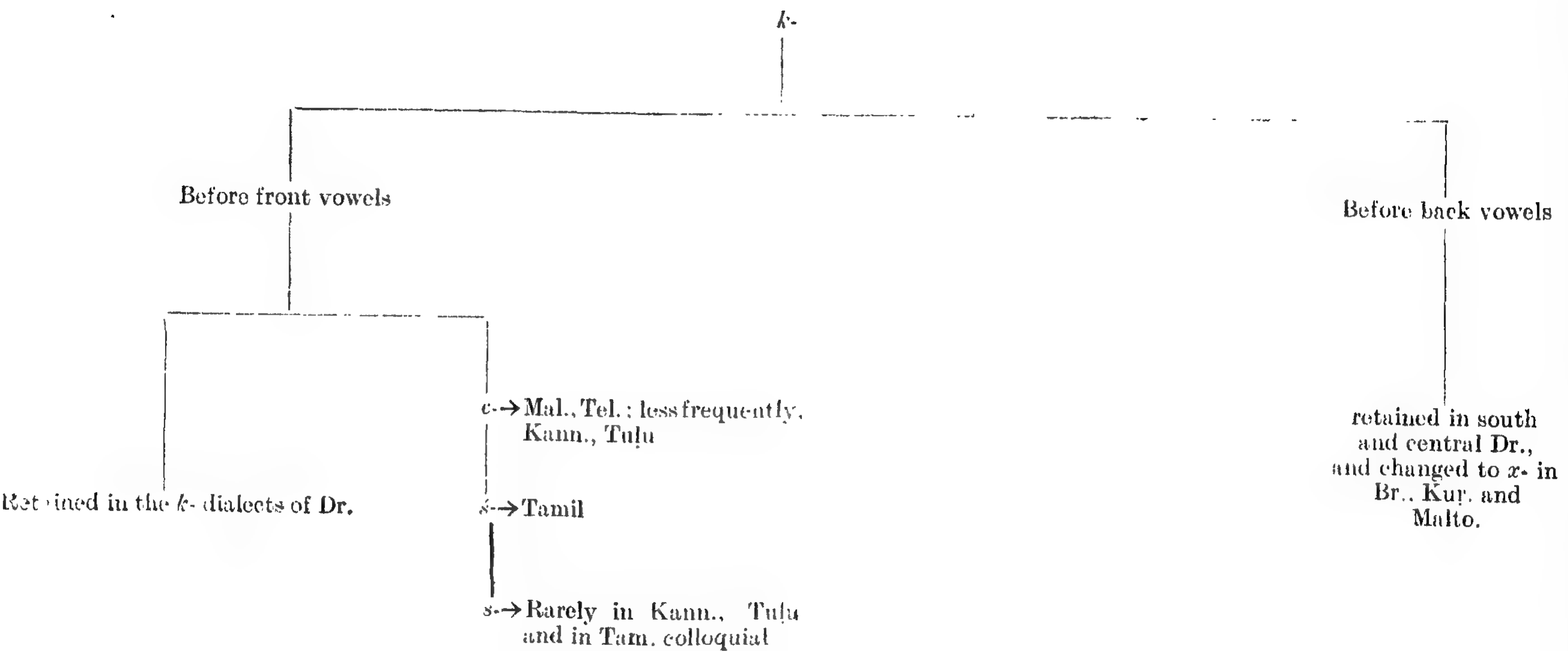
(*i*) The initial affricates and sibilant fricatives of Dravidian do not (so far as we can see) appear to be original in a large number of instances,—a fact which emerges from the confrontation of inter-dialectal instances and from our reconstruction of the probable history of these sounds.

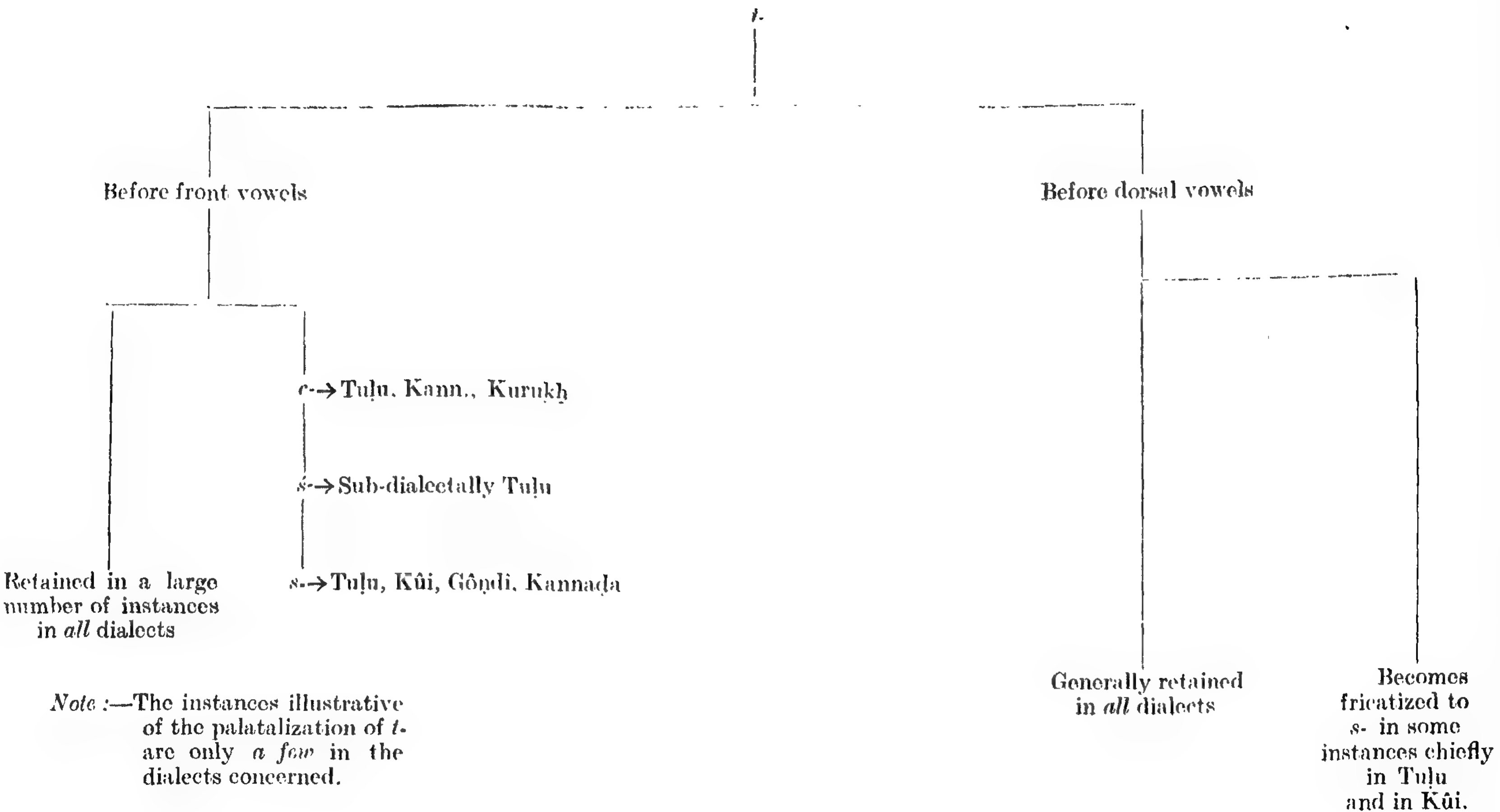
(*ii*) A number of these sibilant and affricates result from palatalization of an original *k*-, which changed initially to the affricate [*cʃ*] through the stage of the unstable palatal plosive [c], and then in certain dialects developed into *ś*- or *s*- (as the case may be).

(*iii*) Another group 3 (*a*) was possibly the result of the palatalization of older *t*- by front vowels.

(*iv*) A very small group of forms mainly confined to Tuḷu and Kûi show the dental sibilant *s*-, which, so far as we can judge now, seem to be due to the fricatization of original *t*-.

The results we have arrived may all be graphically represented thus :—




t-
Before front vowels
Before dorsal vowels
Retained in a large number of instances in *all* dialects
c-→ Tuḷu, Kann., Kuṛukh
ś-→ Sub-dialectally Tuḷu
s-→ Tuḷu, Kûi, Gôṇḍi, Kannaḍa
Generally retained in *all* dialects
Becomes fricatized to s- in some instances chiefly in Tuḷu and in Kûi.
Note :—The instances illustrative of the palatalization of *t*- are only *a few* in the dialects concerned.

II.

THE LIP-FRICATIVE v-.

[A] *Distribution.*

A marked cleavage is noticeable among the dialects. While Tamil, Malayâḷam, Kûi, Telugu and Gôṇḍî show almost exclusively the fricative *v-* initially, the other dialects, Kannaḍa, Tuḷu, Kurukh and Brâhûî, show *b-* instead of *v-* in initial positions of corresponding words.

Tamil and Malayâḷam completely fight shy of initial *b-* in native words. In Kûi and Telugu, the usual rule favours *v-*, but in a very small number of words *b-* appears on account of the influence of certain phonetic factors capable of being defined in each case. Initial *b-* in Gôṇḍî native words is confined to a few interrogatives, where *b-* is a secondary development.

[B] *The phonetic values of the Dravidian fricative v-.*

Though the old Tam. grammars describe the sound as a lip-teeth one, in Tamil and Malayâḷam the usual value given to it is only that of a bilabial, where the lips remain far more apart than for [w] and make only a slight movement towards each other. There is a slight rounding of the lips also, though never to the extent that we find in the enunciation of English [w].

While the uneducated masses use only *v-* in Kannaḍa and Telugu, educated speakers sometimes bring out the lip-teeth sound [v] by raising the lower lip towards the upper row of teeth. This [v] does not however possess the tenseness associated with English [v].

The voiceless varieties [F] and [f] are not heard in Dravidian except in Toda and in Cochin State Bôya.

The fricative *v* should be distinguished from the dorsal glide *v̆*, which characteristically appears in connection with dorsal vowels in Dravidian. While there is an appreciable forward and upward movement of the lips in the production of the full bilabial *v*, this movement is only very slight in the production of the glide.

This glide appears in initial and medial positions of Dravidian words in connection with the dorsal vowels *a*, *u*, *o*.

[C] *Occurrence of v-.*

Tamil *v-* appears only before the front vowels *-i* and *-e* and before the vowel *-a* with a front tonality.

Words beginning with *vu-* or *vo-* are absent in Tamil, though words beginning with *u* or *o* (and *a* also) have the dorsal glide *v̆-* incorporated initially in actual speech.

Malayâḷam : The remarks made above are true of Malayâḷam also.

These two dialects have so great an aversion to initial *b-* that Sanskrit words with initial *b-* are adapted with initial *v-* or more commonly *p-*. For example:—Mal. *vâlyam* for Skt. *bâlyam* (childhood); Tam. *vâlammâḷ* for Skt. *bâlâmba*, a name; Tam. *putpudam* for Skt. *budbuda*, *etc.*

Telugu : This dialect shows *v-* in most cases where *v-* appears in Tamil and Malayâḷam. In few a instances *b-* appears :—

Tel.	Tam.-Mal.
baṇḍi (cart)	*vaṇḍi*
beṅga (sorrow)	Base *veg-*
belaṅku (brightness)	Base *veḷ-*

Whether these words are borrowings from Kannaḍa or not, one cannot say owing to the uncertainty surrounding the chronological history of many Dr. forms like these. If they are really native in Telugu, one can only suggest that the nasal sounds in these words

may have exercised a regressive influence on an original *v*-, and by inducing closure of the lips converted it to *b*-. It is to be noted that such instances with initial *b*- (corresponding to *v*- of Tamil) are remarkably few in Telugu.

Tuḷu, Kannaḍa, Kuru<u>kh</u> and Brâhûî :

There are absolutely no instances of native forms with the full initial bilabial *v*- in these dialects ; in their stead *b*- forms are found.

Kûi : *v*- forms are predominant, and they correspond regularly to the *v*- forms of Tamil-Malayâḷam. A few instances of *b*- forms are the following :—

boṇḍi (for the sake of)......cf. Mal. *vêṇḍi* in phrases like *ayâḷku vêṇḍi* (for his sake).
bêṇḍi (contrariness)........cf. Tam. *vêṇḍâ* (not necessary), Kann. *bêḍâ*.
bai, *imbai* (who ?) where Aphesis has operated.

Gôṇḍî : *v*- forms are regular. A few *b*- forms are the following :—The interrogatives : *bôl*, *bôr* (who ?), *bega* (why ?), *bappôr* (when ?), etc., etc.

It is not easy to explain the initial *b*- of these Gôṇḍî words ; *either*, these forms are the results of aphæresis (as in Kûi *bâi*, 'who,' from *imbai*, etc.), *or* the initial *b*- is the development of the on-glide *v̆*- appearing before an original interrogative particle *ă* with a dorsal tonality. Cf. Tuḷu *vâ* (which ?, what ?) from *â*.

[D] *Probable relationship of v- and b-.*

The conspicuous cleavage appearing among the dialects raises the question as to which of these two sounds may be the original in Dravidian.

In this connection the relationship of -*v*- to -*b*- in medial positions of Dravidian words may be significant.

The fact that Sanskrit *b*- appears sometimes as *v*- in Tamil-Malayâḷam need not at all raise the presumption of *b*- being the original in native words also. The fondness of Tamil and Malayâḷam for *v* might sufficiently account for the adaptation of Sanskrit *b* as *v*.

The problem can now be approached only from the standpoint of native forms.

An ancient affix -*v*- does duty in Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu for the formation of certain grammatical categories :—Future-aoristic tense, noun-derivatives, causatives, etc. Tamil shows the use of this *v* in its most elementary state in such cases, and these are confirmed by analogies in the other dialects also. In Tamil, Kannaḍa and Malayâḷam this *v* changes into *b* (and sometimes into *p*) under certain conditions :—

These latter are :—

(*a*) The influence of a neighbouring nasal, e.g., *kâṇ* (to see)+*v*, producing the future stem *kâṇb*-; *uṇ* (to eat)+*v*>*uṇb*-.

(*b*) The influence of accent in *kâritas* leading to the closure of lips and the conversion of -*v*- to the geminated surd -*pp*-, e.g., *kârita* bases like *eḍu* (to take), *kuḷi* (to take a bath), etc.+-*v*- give the future stems *eḍupp*-, *kuḷipp*-, etc. A similar phenomenon is observable in the bases of *vi*- causatives of Tamil also.

The base-extensions -*v*-, -*b*- and -*p*- of Kûi furnish instances of a parallel change :—

Normal	*sâva* (to die)
Influence of nasal	*tinb*- (to eat) *uṇb* (to drink)
Kâritas and causatives	*tôsp*- (to show).

These facts raise the question whether *v*- may not have been original in initial positions also, and the initial *b*- words corresponding to Tamil words with initial *v*- may be secondary. The exact reasons for the uniform development of initial *b*- in what we might term the "*b*- dialects of Dravidian" [Kannaḍa, Tuḷu, Kuru<u>kh</u>, Brâhûi] remain, however, to be investigated and clarified further.

III.

THE BACK FRICATIVE x-

The sound transcribed as *k̲h̲* by Sir Denys Bray in his *Grammar* appears to be the velar *x*; while the Kuruk̲h̲ sound (also transcribed as ***k̲h̲***) seems, from the description given by Father Grignard, to partake also of the value of the uvular spirant χ. I have represented both these sounds with the symbol *x*-[9] in the following lists.

South and Central Dravidian *k*-	Kuruk̲h̲ *x*-	Kuruk̲h̲ *k*-	Brâhûî *x*-	Brâhûî *k*-	Malto *q*- (*x*)
I					
kaṇ (eye) ..	*xan*		*xan*		*xan*
[Kann.] *kibi* (ear) cf. Gôṇḍî *kavi*	*xeb-da*		*xaf*		*xeθvu*
kây- (to be hot)	*xây*		cf. *xâṛar*		*xe*-
[Kann.] *kandu* (child), etc.	*xadd*				*xad* (child)
kay, *key* (hand)	*xekkâ*				
[Kann.] *kes*- (red)	*xes*- (red)		*xis-un* (red)		*xes* (red)
kutt- (to dig)	*xutt*-		*xutt*-		
kul-uṅg- (to be shaken)			*xul*- (to fear)		
kal (stone)	?*xajj* (mud, earth) ?		*xal*		? *xel* (field)
kây (fruit)	*xâñj*				*xañj*.
koy (to reap)	*xoy*-				*xoy*-
kâl (leg) ..	*xeḍḍ* (foot)				*xeḍ* (leg)
koṇḍ- [past participle of *koḷ*- 'to take on,' appearing in *koṇḍu vâ* 'bring!' and in the contracted forms *koṇâ*, 'bring here!' etc.	*xoṇḍ*-(to bring together)		? cf. *xul* (womb)		
Gôṇḍî *kors*- (to sprout)	*xôr*- (to shoot out new leaves)		cf. *xar*- (to sprout out) *xar-un* (green)		
II					
cf. *kâ-l* (to go, move); *kâl* (stalk, branch, leg)		*kâ*- (to go)		*ka*- (to go)	
[Kûi] *kâ* [motion particle]					
kaḍa- (to cross) .. [Gôṇḍî] *kaṛ*- (to go across)		*kaṛ-ta*- (to take across) *kaṭṭ*- (to cross river)			

[9] Sir Denys Bray describes the sound (p. 28 of his *Gr.*) thus: " k̲h̲ is pronounced like the Persian-Arabic ***k̲h̲e***, i.e., like *ch* in German and in the Scotch word *loch*."

Kuruk̲h̲ ***k̲h̲*** is described by Grignard thus: "The bottom of the throat and the upper portion of the windpipe being kept well open, pronounce the sound *h*; the resulting broad sound will be a satisfactory approximation to the pronunciation of ***k̲h̲***."

Droese's description of Malto *q*- shows that it may be identical with Kuruk̲h̲ *x*.

South and Central Dravidian *k*-	Kurukh *x*-	Kurukh *k*-	Brâhûî *x*-	Brâhûî *k*-	Malto
kîḻ (below)		*kîya, kîta* (below)		*kî-, ke-*	
kiḍa- (to lie down)		*kîd-* (to put to bed);			
kuṛ-ugu (to be shortened)		*kir-* (to turn back);		*kur-* (to roll up); *kurr-* (to be shortened)	*kir-* (to turn round)
kiṛugiṛ- (whirling)					
kiḻḻ- (to pinch) .. [Kûi-Gôṇḍî] *kis-* (to pinch)		*kiss-* (to pinch)			
kûḍ- (to be joined)		*kuḍ-* (to string, thread)			
cf. *śâ-, sai,* etc. (to die)		*khê'-* (to die)		*kah* (to die)	*ke-* (to die)
Tam. *kar-ai* (bank of river)				*karrak* (river-bank)	

The following points are noteworthy in the above list :—

(*a*) The velar fricative *x*- of Kurukh and Brâhûî is a special development in these north Dravidian speeches ; Malto in corresponding positions shows also *x*. None of the southern and central Dravidian speeches show *x*- in initial positions but only *k*- (or *g*- in some dialects rarely). *x*- in Kurukh, Brâhûî and Malto may very probably be secondary growths in these dialects. The factors which influenced this secondary change in these dialects are not clear ; but possibly the frequency in Kurukh and Brâhûî of loan-words (Persian and Arabic) with initial *x*- may have been a contributory factor.

(*b*) Both in Brâhûî and in Kurukh there are words with *k*- (II in list above) corresponding to *k*- words of the rest of Dravidian. What exactly prevented the change here of the original Dravidian plosive *k*- to *x*-, as in the other words adduced in the list, is a matter demanding enquiry. It is possible that (i) the spirantization was more active before back vowels than before front ones, and (ii) the existence of certain Indo-Aryan loan-words with *k*- may have exercised in some cases a preventive influence.

MISCELLANEA.

FRANCISCO PELSAERT IN INDIA.

When I was preparing for publication the version of Pelsaert's *Remonstrantie*, made in conjunction with Professor P. Geyl (*Jahangir's India*, Cambridge, 1926), I was able to find very few data to show the extent of the personal experience on which Pelsaert based his observations. The gap is filled to some extent by incidental references to him in the MS. diary of Pieter van den Broeke (BPL 953 in the library of the University of Leiden), and the following facts taken from this source may be of interest to students of the period.

It must be premised that van den Broeke was a very unsatisfactory diarist, apt to record trivialities at length, and to ignore important occurrences in which he played a conspicuous part. No inference whatever can be drawn from his silence : we have merely to be thankful for what he gives, and regret that he did not give us more. Among many other omissions, it may be noted that he did not write a word regarding the genesis of the Fragment of Indian History, which he gave to John de Laet, and which the latter printed in his *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* (Leiden, 1631); the question whether that Fragment is Pelsaert's work thus remains undecided.

Pelsaert was one of a party sent, under the lead of Wouter Heuten, from Batavia to India on the *Nieuwe Zeeland*, which reached Masulipatam in the autumn of 1620. The party travelled overland to Surat, where they arrived on 6 Dec. that year ; Pelsaert's rank was then *onderkoopman*, that is, junior factor. On 20 Jan. 1621, he started with a caravan for Agra, as assistant to Heuten, who had been chosen by van den Broeke to take charge of the Agra factory.

On 28 Sept., 1623, Pelsaert, now ranking as factor, arrived in Surat with a caravan of merchandise from Agra. He worked for the next six months in the Surat factory, and on 22 March, 1624, he was sent

to take charge of Agra, as senior factor, in consequence of Heuten's death.

He appears to have come down again with a caravan in the spring of 1626. On 25 Feb. in that year a caravan reached Surat under Hendrick Vapour; on 23 March a second caravan followed, the factor in charge of which is not named; and on 19 April a return-caravan started for Agra under Pelsaert and Vapour, so presumably it was Pelsaert who brought the second caravan.

He left Agra finally in the spring of 1627, after making over charge of the factory to Vapour. A portion of his caravan reached Surat on 12 May, and a week later he arrived in person, exceedingly ill. He must have spent the rest of the year in Gujarât, and on 23 Dec. he sailed for Holland as senior factor on the *Dordrecht*.

It will be seen from these data that Pelsaert had travelled six times between Surat and Agra, and that he had spent a year in all in Gujarât; his experience was thus much wider than might be inferred by readers of his *Remonstrantie*.

This opportunity may be taken to place on record some corrections and additions to the information given in *Jahangir's India*, most of them contributed or suggested by Dr. L. D. Barnett, Sir Richard Burn, Professor S. H. Hodivala, and Sir Walter Hose.

INTRODUCTION. P. ix, *l*. 10. For 'end of 1627' *read* 'spring of 1627'.

P. x, *l*. 23. Van den Broeke's diary shows that he landed at Surat on 4th October, 1620.

P. xi. The facts given on this page can be supplemented from the foregoing note.

TEXT. P. 3, note 2, and p. 57, *n*. 1. For Amil *read* Hâkim.

P. 7, *n*. 2. In the MS. the words 'zelal' and 'tsey' are separated by a comma, but Professor Hodivala suggests that this may be a mistake, and that they form one name, *jalâlsai*, of the same type as 'dysucksoy' or 'kissoresoy', given but not explained in *Hobson-Jobson* (*s.v.* Piece-goods); he explains these forms as proper names followed by the Persian affix *-âsâ*, '-like', so that we should have 'Jalâl-like', 'Dilsukh-like', 'Kishore-like'.

Chaukhamba is the name of a *mahalla* in Benares, and this may be the origin of 'tsoekhamber'; the Professor would prefer to take the word as a perversion of *chârkhânas*, or 'checks', but the Dutch script of the time could scarcely be misread in this way.

P. 19, *n*. 1. Tzierila must represent Hind. *chharîlâ*, which in Blochmann's *Âîn* (i. 74) is given as a synonym for Persian *ushna*, a sweet-scented moss, used as an ingredient of the incense called *rûhafzâ*. Pipel is for *pippali*, long pepper.

P. 27, *n*. 2. For cassa in this passage, read *caffa*, a word used in contemporary Dutch for a kind of velvet.

P. 30, *n*. 2. Professor Hodivala suggests that the reference is to Mungipattan on the Godâvarî, a place well known in history, and for a long time famous for its fine cotton fabrics.

P. 33, *ll*. 3, 4. Cashaer is probably for Kishtwâr, the district lying S. and SE. of the Kashmîr valley. Lamoe must be corrupt. It would be easy to read Jamoe, *i.e.*, Jammu, the district S. of Kishtwâr, but Jammu did not extend to the border of Kâbul, which at this time was formed by the Indus. Alternatively, the name may be a perversion of Lahor; the Mogul province of that name, which included Jammu, lay S. of Kashmîr, and extended to the border of the province of Kâbul.

ll. 6, 7. Poncie is Pûnch. Bangissa must be Bangash, now in Kohat and Kurram, classed in Jarrett's *Âîn* (ii. 407) as a *tûmân*, or subdivision, of Kâbul. The correct name of its ruler at this time has not been found.

l. 9. No such names have been found to the N. of Kashmîr. The first two strongly suggest the villages of Pâmpûr and Bijbrâr, but these lay SE of Srînagar, for Jahângîr (*Memoirs*, ii. 170, 171) halted at them on his way to the source of the Jhelum. Conceivably Pelsaert put them in the N. because he knew that the general course of the river is from NE. to SW., and did not remember when writing that in Kashmîr it flows from SE. to NW.

l. 23. The larger river is the Jhelum, or Bihat. Vîrnâg is at, or near, its source: Achiauwel must be for Achîbal, or Achval, described by Jahângîr (*Memoirs*, ii. 173): Matiaro may be for Watnâr, a short distance NE. of Vîrnâg. Saluwara is probably Jahângîr's Shâlamâr (ii. 151); the stream from it flows into the Dal Lake, whence a channel runs through the city.

l. 29. Swindessaway is much altered in the MS., and it is impossible to say with certainty what the copyist finally intended; possibly it represents the spring above the Dal Lake which is properly named Chashma Shâhî, and is a popular source of drinking-water (*Impl. Gaz.* xv. 77).

P. 34, *l*. 8. The stronghold is presumably the hill known as Harî Parbat, which was fortified by Akbar (*Impl. Gaz.* xxiii. 99).

P. 35, last line. Casstuwary must represent Kishtwâr, though the distance is much under-stated. Jahângîr wrote (*Memoirs*, ii. 138) that the saffron of Kishtwâr was better than that of Kashmîr (in the narrow sense).

P. 41, *n*. 2. For 'between Surat and the sea', *read* 'two miles above Surat'.

P. 42, *l*. 13. The correct name of the Governor was Jam Qulî Beg (*The English Factories in India*, 1622-3, p. 211).

P. 42, *n*. 1. The statement that Pelsaert had not been in Gujarât for some years is incorrect, as shown above.

P. 45, *l.* 6. Meynsel is Hind. *mainsil*, red sulphide of arsenic.

P. 45, *n.* 1. Several suggestions have been made that the name given to spikenard is a corruption of *ketaki*, the Sanskrit name of the screw-pine, now usually called *keorá*, but no explanation has been offered why the name of an Indian shrub yielding only a perfume should have been applied to a mountain herb yielding a valuable drug. It seems more reasonable to look for the origin of the text name in the Himalayas; the recorded local names of spikenard are quite different, and I suspect the truth to be that a mistake was made, either by Pelsaert or by the druggists in Agra from whom he obtained his samples, and that the word in the text represents *kutkî*, or *kûtkî*, a local name for the Himalayan gentian, which grows in the same region as spikenard, and yields a valuable drug (Atkinson's *Gazetteer of the Himalayan Districts of the North-West Provinces*, i. 737, 743). Apparently this name is not altogether precise, for in Platts' Urdu Dictionary it is applied to both hellebore and aconite, and its application to spikenard is a quite conceivable accident.

P. 54, *n.* 2. Urdu dictionaries give a warning interjection *po-îs*[1] (the 'pyse' of *Hobson-Jobson*), which is presumably the same as 'phoos'. The derivation from Sanskrit *paśya* given in the dictionaries is not, however, acceptable to modern scholars, because there is no warrant for the change of *a* into *o*, and the Pashtu origin given in this footnote appears to be more probable.

P. 59, *n.* 1. This is probably for Râjpîpla, a State lying NE. of Surat, mentioned in Jarrett's *Âîn*, ii. 251.

P. 61, *n.* 3. Tziurewardar must represent Hind. *chaunrîbardâr*, 'carrier of the fly-switch'. The variant selwidar would be Persian *jilaudâr*, 'groom'.

P. 63, *n.* 1. Pelsaert knew Persian well, and the phrase 'in their rich poverty' may possibly be an echo of Persian *fuqr-ghanî*, which is used of a *darwesh* in the *Tûzuk-i-Jahângîrî* (p. 286 of Syud Ahmud's Aligarh text), and was rendered by Rogers 'rich in his poverty'.

P. 63, *n.* 3. Mosseroufs probably represents *mushrif*, the designation of an official concerned with accounts.

P. 65, *n.* 1. The word printed as mosseri is altered in the text, and can be read as mofferi, i.e., Persian *mufarrih*, an exhilarating drink. Dutch writers sometimes used *-j* for final *-i*, so falonj may represent Persian *filûnîyâ*, probably a preparation of opium (see *The Memoirs of Jahangir*, i. 308 *n*).

P. 71, *n.* 1. For Mr. Beni Madho, *read* Mr. Beni Prasad.

P. 83, *n.* 1. The initial *h.* of hentsenis is clear in the MS., but it may well be the copyist's mistake for *k*, giving *kanchanî*, a well-known class of public women.

W. H. Moreland.

BOOK-NOTICE.

Somanâtha and Other Medieval Temples in Kâṭhiâwâḍ.—A.S.I. Imperial Series, vol. XLV. By H. Cousens, M.R.A.S. 13×10 in.; pp. v +92; with map, 106 plates and 8 illustrations in text. Calcutta Govt. Press, 1931.

Mr. Cousens has dealt with some twenty-five sites in the Kâṭhiâwâḍ peninsula, but save in respect of the remains at Somanâtha-Paṭṭan and at and near Thân, and the Jaina temples on the Śatrunjaya hill, the accounts are short, and cannot be said to furnish much fresh information of particular interest. The introduction and descriptive text runs to 87 pages, the great bulk of the volume consisting of plates, of which there are no less than 106. Many of the plates are indistinctly reproduced, and five of them seem to have been prepared from the negatives used for the photographic plates in Burgess's *Report on the Antiquities of Kâṭhiâwâḍ and Kachh* (1876), with which they compare unfavourably. Still it is convenient to have illustrations of these monuments collected together under one cover like this. The plans and drawings of architectural features, on the other hand, have been admirably delineated and produced. A few of the sites described are not marked on the map, which shows neither hills nor rivers. Inefficient proof-reading is perhaps responsible for many defects in the transliteration of Sanskrit and Arabic words. Surprise will be felt at the statement (on p. 18) that "the *Mahâbhârata* makes no mention of Somanâtha or of any other shrine in this neighbourhood."

C. E. A. W. O.

[1] In Hindi the forms *posh* and *pos* are also used (suggesting Persian *posh-*).—C. E. A. W. O., Jt.-Editor.

THE EXTENT AND CAPITAL OF DAKṢIṆA KOSALA.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, M.A.

ABOUT half a century ago General Cunningham endeavoured to fix the boundaries of Dakṣiṇa Kosala, to which he gave the alternative name of Mahâ-Kosala,[1] without stating where he found that name. He described its extent as comprising " the whole of the upper valley of the Mahânadî and its tributaries from the source of the Narbadâ at Amarkaṇṭak, in the north, to the source of the Mahânadî itself near Kânker, on the south, and from the valley of the Wen-Gangâ, on the west to the Hasdo and Jonk rivers on the east." But these limits, he added, " have often been extended, so as to embrace the hilly districts of Mandla and Bâlâghâṭ, on the west up to the banks of the Wen-Gangâ and the middle valley of the Mahânadî on the east, down to Sambalpur and Sonpur." " Within its narrowest limits the province was 200 miles in length from north to south and 125 miles in breadth, east to west. At its greatest extent, excluding the tributary territories of Orissa, it formed a square of about 200 miles on each side. At the time of Hwen Thsang's visit in 639 A.D., he describes the kingdom as 6,000 *li*, or 1,000 miles in circuit, an extent which could have been attained by inclusion of the district of Vâkâṭaka, on the west comprising the present districts of Chândâ, Nâgpur and Seoni. With this addition the kingdom of Mahâ Kosala would have been just 300 miles from west to east."[2]

Since the above was written, full fifty years have passed away, during which several inscriptions have been found in and out of the so-called Mahâ Kosala country, and a number of books on ancient historical places have also been written, but none of them seem to fix the boundaries of that country more definitely than what the father of Indian Archæology did. The latest book by a great antiquarian, which takes cognizance of this matter is Mr. R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*, published in 1930, which states that " in mediæval ages the country to the west of Khiñjali was called Mahâ Kosala or Dakṣiṇa Kosala and was subject to the Somavaṁśis and the Haihayas of Tripuri and Ratnapura."[3] This description does not give any definite idea as to how far it extended in any of the four directions, not even on the east, where it is stated to have abutted on Khiñjali, in view of the fact that Mr. Banerji had a very confused idea of the limits of Khiñjali, as has been pointed out in *JBORS.*, XVI (1930), pp. 113 ff. He does not state the limits in the other three directions, which he has left to be inferred from the vague statement about a region subject to the Somavaṁśîs and the Haihayas. The Haihaya kingdom extended far and wide. To the north or north-west lay their original capital at Tripuri in the heart of the Ḍâhala country which extended to the banks of the Ganges.[4] If that is to be taken as the northern limit, it would go far beyond the Vindhyas in the region of Uttarapatha, while Dakṣiṇa Kosala was admittedly one of the earliest Aryan colonies in the Dakṣiṇâpatha or country south of the Vindhyas. After all, Mr. Banerji was concerned with Orissa, and perhaps it was sufficient for his purposes to point out that the western boundary of the country he was dealing with, marched with Dakṣiṇa Kosala.

1 The old Sanskrit literature does not seem to mention it. There are numerous references to that country, which is either designated Kosala or Dakṣiṇa Kosala, in order to distinguish it from Oudh, whose old name was Kosala or Uttara Kosala. We find a king bearing the name of Mahâkosala in the line of kings of the latter country, but he does not seem to have given his name to any country. In a country watered by the Mahânadî containing villages with names such as Mahâ Samunda (*samudra*), and bounded by or having in close proximity countries, forests or hills named Mahâ Kântâra, Mahârâṣṭra, Mahâbhoja, Mahâvinâyaka (a hill peak in Jaipur Zamîndârî) Mahendra (mountain), etc., it perhaps seemed appropriate to call Dakṣiṇa Kosala Mahâ Kosala, especially when its area exceeded that of the northern Kosala, although Yuan Chwang assigns an equal extent to both.

2 Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, vol. XVII (1881-82), pages 68-69.

3 R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 7.

4 *JAHRS.*, vol. IV. p. 152.

Inscriptions found in the old Chattîsgaṛh Division, which included the districts of Raipur, Bilâspur and Sambalpur, the last of which is at present relegated to Bihâr and Orissa,[5] mention several gift villages as situated in the Kosala *deśa.* The kings are spoken of as Kosalâdhîśa, Kosalâdhipati, Kosalanarendra, etc. This indisputably proves the identity of Kosala with the three districts named above. The area covered by these districts, including that of the Feudatory States attached to the Chattîsgaṛh Division for administrative purposes and excluding the Bastar State, which epigraphical data show did not form part of the Kosala country, works out to about 45 thousand square miles only. This falls much short of the extent of Kosala as recorded by the Chinese pilgrim. The boundaries being thus shut out on the south by the Bastar State and on the north by the Vindhya mountains, the conclusion is unavoidable that the country extended to the west up to the borders of Berâr, thus absorbing in it the districts of Bhaṇḍârâ, Bâlâghâṭ, Chindwârâ-*cum*-Seoni, Nâgpur, Wardhâ and Chândâ, comprising an area of 30,000 square miles. Cunningham, in order to complete the area on the Chinese pilgrim's scale, included a part of the Vâkâṭaka country, which he placed in Berâr, but it is not necessary to do this, inasmuch as the deficiency can be covered by some States of Orissa bordering on Sambalpur, in which Somavaṁśî inscriptional records have been found, which prove that they formed part of Kosala *deśa* as mentioned in them. I have summarised these in the appendix to my article on the Sirpur stone inscription (*E.I.*, vol. XI, pp. 198 ff.) These are the states of Paṭnâ, Sonpur, Bâmrâ and Rairâkhol, the combined area of which aggregates 6,000 square miles. With this addition the total area would be some 81,000 square miles, which would give a circuit of 6,000 *li*, or 1,000 miles.[6] It would then appear that Dakṣiṇa Kosala at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit comprised an area lying between 85° and 78° E. Roughly speaking, this coincides with Cunningham's identification with a slight modification. If we cut out the portion of Berâr included by him in the west, and extend the eastern boundary by including a few Feudatory States, we get exactly what we require.

To the north the boundaries ran a little below Amarakaṇṭaka, which the Mekalas occupied, as we find them mentioned separately both in the *Purâṇas* and in epigraphical records. The *Matsya* and *Vâyu Purâṇas*, when enumerating the dwellers in the Vindhya region (विन्ध्य पृष्ठ निवासिनः), say :—

मालवाश्च करूषाश्च मेकलाश्चोत्कलैः सह ।

— — — — — — — — — — —

तोशलाः कोशलाश्चैव त्रैपुरा वैदिशास्तथा ॥

In the Bâlâghâṭ plates of the Vâkâṭaka king Pṛithvîsheṇa II belonging to the last quarter of the fifth century A.D., it is stated that his father Narendrasena's commands were honoured by the lords of Kosala, Mekala and Mâlava.[7] Amarakaṇṭaka, the source of the Narmadâ river, is the highest peak of the Mekala range of the Vindhya mountains. Indeed an alternative name of the Narmadâ is Mekala-sutâ or Mekala-kanyâ, 'daughter of Mekala.' The range runs for about 130 miles in a south-westerly direction to Khairâgaṛh, indicating the tract which the Mekalas occupied, to wit, portions of Rewa State, Bilâspur, Maṇḍalâ and Bâlâghâṭ districts and that portion of the Raipur district which is covered by the Feudatory States of Kawardhâ, Chuîkhadân and Khairâgaṛh. In the *Vâyu Purâṇa*, however, there is a mention of Pañcha Kosalas, of which the Mekalas were one.[8] Thus it would appear that there were semi-independent border chiefs subordinate to Kosala proper, the central portion of which comprised the present Raipur and Bilâspur districts.

[5] The formation of a separate Orissa province has been recently sanctioned, and the Sambalpur district will be included in the new Province ere long.

[6] A circuit of 1,000 miles in a perfect circle would give 79,545 square miles. Obviously Kosala was not a perfect circle, nor were the boundaries limited to the extents of the present units. They would require lopping off in certain directions and a bit of expansion in others.

[7] *E. I.*, vol. IX, p. 269.

[8] Pargiter, *The Purâṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 3.

We shall now proceed to locate the capital of the Kosala country. In the earliest times, when Nala, king of the Niṣadha country, was ousted from his kingdom, he started towards the south, and leaving his wife Damayantî in the forest to take care of herself, he moved on and arrived in the territory of the Karkoṭaka Nâga, who was evidently the ruler of the Nâgpur country. He afterwards reached the capital of Kosala, and took service as a charioteer of Ṛituparṇa, the then king of that country. The only ancient town which could have lain on the line of Nala's march having traditions of visits from the heroes of *Mahâbhârata* times is Bhândak (old Bhadrâvatî), 16 miles north of Chândâ town, the present head-quarters of the district of the same name. That this alone could be the residence of Ṛituparṇa is proved by the fact that Nala once drove the latter to his friend the king of Vidarbha, whose capital was at Kauṇḍinyapura, in approximately 11 hours,[9] in a chariot with only four horses. Now the distance between Bhândak and Kauṇḍinyapura is about 80 miles as the crow flies. Allowing 20 miles for the inevitably circuitous route taken by a horse-drawn vehicle, the speed of nine miles an hour is a plausible and even creditable performance for the horses under a good driver. The other known capitals of Dakṣiṇa Kosala are Sirpur (old Śrîpura) in the Raipur district and Tummâṇa and Ratanpur in the Bilâspur district. The first of these is the nearest to Kauṇḍinyapura, but it lies as many as 250 miles away in a straight line on the map. This would give a run of 23 miles an hour for the chariot, and if the windings of the road are taken into account in the same proportion as in the case of Bhândak, the pace would amount to 29 miles an hour for a continuous run of 11 hours without any change, which is impossible. In fact this rate would exceed the motor car speed attainable in these days, if not beat a railway train. But what we are concerned with is whether Bhândak continued to be the capital until the advent of Yuan Chwang in 639 A.D. Cunningham, without having the foregoing data before him, tried to locate the capital from the bearings and distances noted by the Chinese pilgrim. The latter came to Kosala from the capital of Kaliṅga pursuing a north-westerly course of about 1,800 *li*, or 300 miles. For reasons best known to himself, Cunningham fixed the capital of Kaliṅga at Râjamahendri, from where he drew a straight line exactly to the north-west and found Chândâ, an important town with a fort and a circumvallation wall at a distance of 290 miles. Chândâ was once a Goṇḍ capital, but long after Yuan Chwang's visit. It had, however, gathered some indefinite traditions which fitted his object, and he decided that it was the place visited by the Chinese pilgrim. Later on, Fergusson[10] proposed Wairâgaṛh in the same district as the more likely place, but what is missing in both these places is any trace of remains of the Buddhistic monasteries and temples which Yuan Chwang so prominently mentioned. The latter states clearly that "there were 100 *saṅghârâmas* there and 10,000 priests. There was a great number of heretics, who intermixed with the population and also Deva temples." At Bhândak one may see even today a rock-cut Buddhist cave in a fair state of preservation. There are also numerous remains of Hindu Deva temples as well as Jain temples. An inscription found in the Bhândak cave shows that a line of Buddhistic kings belonging to the Paṇḍuvaṁśî line ruled in that place down to the ninth century A.D. (*JRAS.*, 1905, p. 621). This discovery is of great importance inasmuch as Yuan Chwang mentions specifically that the king was of the Kṣatriya caste and deeply reverenced the law of the Buddha. Traditionally Bhândak was a very big city which once extended up to Bhaṭâla,[11] some 20 miles distant. The ruins lying between these places seem to indicate some connection between them.

In these circumstances when I happened to refer to Nâgârjuna, to whom a cave is dedidated on a hillock at Râmṭek, I proposed Bhândak as a still more likely place for Yuan

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9 Pradhan's *Chronology of Ancient India*, p. 147.

10 *JRAS.*, 1875, p. 260.

11 Nelson's *Chanda District Gazetteer*, p. 571.

Chwang's visit than Chândâ or Wairâgaṛh, giving in a footnote my reasons for that suggestion. The matter rested there, until 1928, when that footnote attracted the attention of my esteemed friend, Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I., who asked me whether, with my fuller local knowledge of the country after the lapse of a score of years, I still stuck to that opinion, pointing out at the same time certain difficulties which the description given by the Chinese pilgrim raised. I admit that I have found it very difficult to reconcile these, but I have endeavoured to reconsider the question and put on record what my acquaintance with the country suggested—a country which I have travelled through from the source of the Narmadâ down to the Godâvarî and from the Bâmrâ state of Orissa to Berâr.

In the first place, General Cunningham fixed Râjamahendri as the capital of Kaliṅga, but later investigations show that it was at Mukhaliṅgam on the left bank of the Vaṁśadhâra, 18 miles from Parlakimidi in the Ganjam District.[12] In that case three other reputed capitals of South Kosala would at any rate require consideration before they can be summarily rejected, as Mukhaliṅgam would place them within the distances and bearings recorded by the Chinese traveller. These are Sirpur (old Śrîpura) in the Raipur district and Tummâṇa and Ratanpur in the Bilâspur District. All these lie to the north-west of Mukhaliṅgam, but from Râjamahendri they would lie slightly east of north.

The distances are as follows :—

	From Mukhaliṅgam.	From Râjamahendri.
Sirpur ..	221 miles.	370 miles.
Ratanpur ..	284 „	434 „
Tummâṇa ..	300 „	450 „

It may be noted at once that Tummâṇa and Ratanpur did not become capitals until the ninth century A.D. or still later. The first was founded by a descendant of Kaliṅgarâja, a younger son of a descendant of Kokalla I of Tripuri, who flourished about 875 A.D.; and the second came into existence when Ratnadeva, a later descendant of Kaliṅgarâja, transferred his residence to Ratanpur, which he named after himself. So, what remains to be considered is the claim of Sirpur as the seat of the Somavaṁśî kings and their predecessors. In the beginning of the seventh century A.D., a line of Ṛishitulyakula kings ruled there. The Ârang plates[13] of Bhîmasena II give his genealogy for six generations. These were issued in Gupta Saṁvat 282, or 601 A.D. This at any rate establishes the fact that Sirpur enjoyed the honour of being a capital in the fifth century A.D., when the 5th ascendant of Bhîmasena II must have been on the throne. It was just 38 years after the Ârang record that the Chinese pilgrim visited the capital of South Kosala. In view of the fact that Sirpur even now possesses two images of the Buddha inscribed with the creed of his religion and numerous remains of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva temples, it presents itself as a strong rival to Bhândak, whose Buddhistic cave, carved out of the rock in the Wijâsan hillock, had ranged me in its favour, taking into consideration also the fact that an inscription was found in that cave mentioning a line of Kṣatriya kings, though belonging to a later date. The Ṛishitulyakula of Sirpur was *deva guru-brâhmaṇa bhaktaḥ*, and as such out and out Hindu. It does not appear probable that it had changed its religion within the short interval of 38 years, unless it was superseded by another dynasty, which apparently, could not be other than the Somavaṁśî one of the Pâṇḍu lineage, which played a conspicuous part in the history of Dakṣiṇa Kosala before the advent of the Haihayas. Several inscriptions of kings of that dynasty have been found,

[12] *Madras Provincial Gazetteer*, vol. I, p. 228. For a collection of various views on the subject see an article on Kaliṅga in the Journal of the *Andhra Historical Research Society*, vol. II, pp. 196 ff. Râjamahendri is said to have been founded by Râjarâja Narendra (1022-1063 A.D. of the Eastern Châlukya dynasty and called after his surname, Râjamahendra (*op . cit.*, vol. III, p. 144.)

[13] *E.I.*, vol. IX, pp. 342 ff.

the oldest being that of Tîvaradeva, who has been connected with Udayana,[14] a common ancestor of the Somavaṁśîs of Sirpur and the Buddhist kings of Bhândak. The time of the rise of the Somavaṁśîs of Sirpur falls about Yuan Chwang's visit, so it is within the bounds of possibility that an ancestor of Tîvaradeva, who is described as *prâpta sakala-Kosalâdhipatyaḥ* (i.e., who had acquired the supremacy over all the Kosalas, or the whole of the Kosala country) may have held sway at Sirpur, and that he might have been a Buddhist, or at any rate well affected towards Buddhism. Tîvaradeva himself was 'a most devout worshipper of Viṣṇu'[15] and was 'unweariedly worshipped by mankind in respect of his religious austerity.'

So far, then, the claims of Sirpur and Bhândak stand on almost an equal footing. We have now to consider other points mentioned by the pilgrim, and see how they fit in. If the capital of Kaliṅga, whence Yuan Chwang travelled to the capital of the Kosala country, was at Râjamahendri, Sirpur is out of the question in view of the fact that its distance even as the crow flies is 370 miles, which is much in excess of what the pilgrim has recorded.[16] The bearings would also vary, as Sirpur is slightly east of north, and not north-west, from Râjamahendri. But if we take Mukhaliṅgam close to Kaliṅganagaram or Kaliṅgapaṭṭanam as the capital of Kaliṅga, as proposed by Fergusson and accepted by Vincent Smith and others, the difficulty which arises is how the pilgrim made it out to be 1,400 or 1,500 *li* from *Kung-yü-t'o* to Kaliṅga. *Kung-yü-t'o* has been identified with the Koṅgoda of the inscriptions, situated somewhere between Kaṭak in Orissa and Askâ in the Ganjam district, close to the Chilka lake. The distance, however, from there to Mukhaliṅgam would be less than 125 miles in a straight line, and even if the windings of the road are taken into account, as they should be, still the distance could not amount to 1,400 or 1,500 *li*. It was perhaps this consideration which induced Cunningham to identify the capital with Râjamahendri. If, however, Mukhaliṅgam was really the capital of Kaliṅga, the claims of Chândâ or Bhândak vanish, as their distance in a straight line would exceed 330 miles.

And now we have to take the data of the return journey into consideration. The pilgrim states that from Kosala he travelled south (*Travels*) or south-east (*Life*) through a forest for above 900 *li* to the *An-to-lo* country. This country was above 300 *li* in circuit and its capital, *P'ing-k'i* (or *ch'i*)-*lo*, was above 20 *li* in circuit. The country had a rich fertile soil, with a moist hot climate; the people there were of violent character, their mode of speech differed from that of Mid-India, but they followed the same system of writing. There were twenty odd Buddhist monasteries with more than 3,000 brethren. Near the capital was a large monastery with a succession of high halls and storeyed terraces containing an exquisite image of the Buddha. From *An-to-lo*, or Andhra, the pilgrim continued his journey south through wood and jungle for over 1,000 *li* to *T'e-na-ka-che-ka*, which is identified with Dhanakaṭaka, the present Bezwâḍa. The distance between Sirpur and Bezwâḍa in a straight line is 350 miles, and that between Bhândak and Bezwâḍa 270 miles. The traveller has recorded it as 1,900 *li*, or 316 miles. This again would appear to put Sirpur out of the question. In these circumstances it seems immaterial to locate the capital[17] of Andhra, which lay somewhere midway between the capital of Kosala and Bezwâḍa. The pilgrim's remarks in regard

[14] *E.I.*, vol. XI, pp. 184 ff.

[15] Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 298.

[16] Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, pp. 198 and 341.

[17] The distances and bearings would point to Warangal (ancient Orukkallu, with the tradition of having been once the capital of Andhra), but how this name could be represented by *P'ing-ch'i-lo* in the Chinese language cannot be easily explained, unless Warangal had a different name in the seventh century. *P'ing-ch'i* cannot be Vengi, howsoever much it may resemble it phonetically, as it would be too far away from any Kosala capital, and too near Bezwâḍa.

to the nature of the country he traversed, its people and language apply equally to both the claimants. Proceeding from Sirpur towards Bezwâḍa, we cannot avoid passing either through Bastar, or through the Agency tracts of the Madras Presidency, apparently called Mahâkântâra (the great forest) at the time of Samudragupta's conquest : and they remain primeval jungle upto the present day. The chief inhabitants are Goṇḍs and Khonds (Kûis), still continuing in the wildest state. They have several times shown violence against authority by open rebellion and murder, or by merciless maiming of the limbs of their enemies, even during the British régime. When the Kûis once cut off the heads of Koltas, an Oṛiya cultivating caste who usurped their lands, they, on being asked why they did it, replied : " Koltas are goats, we are tigers, why should we not kill them ? " The spoken dialects of these tribes are Dravidian, quite distinct from the languages of Mid-India ; and in the southern area towards the Godâvarî, they are replaced by Telugu. The Nâgavaṁśî kings who ruled this country about the tenth century invariably recorded their grants and orders on stone or metal in Telugu characters to the south of the Indravatî river, while all records referring to the same kings found to the north of that river are written in Nâgarî characters. In the case of Bhândak, it may be noted that the whole of the *tahsîl* lying in the southernmost part of the Chândâ district, *viz.*, Sironchâ, is Telugu-speaking. In fact it is the only *tahsîl* in the Central Provinces in which the recognised court language was till lately Telugu. The *tahsîl* abuts on the southern portion of the Bastar State and presents the same type of culture, the characteristics of which have been described above. The southern portion of the Chândâ district is full of dense forest. The writer of the Chândâ *District Gazetteer* says—" At times it must be admitted that the interminable stretches of the gloomy forest oppress the imagination and the traveller is glad to emerge for a space into the more open haunts of men and welcomes the uninterrupted view even of an Indian sun."[18] It would thus appear that the country bordering on the Godâvarî river was an out-crop of Telangana, or Telugu country, lying on the south of the Godâvarî, and was " Andhra land with Andhra culture, tradition and language," as Paṇḍit Nilakaṇṭha Das, M.A., puts it (see *JAHRS.*, vol. II, p. 25) ; and a traveller returning from Bhândak or Sirpur was bound to cross it on his way to Dhanakaṭaka (Bezwâḍa).

As to the pilgrim's description that Kosala was surrounded by mountains and was a succession of woods and marshes, I think it is literally true. The country was bounded on the north by the Vindhya mountains and on the south by those just described, and the other two sides were similarly wooded as they are today. In fact this country was called Daṇḍakâraṇya in Râma's time, and Mr. G. Râmdâs tells us that Daṇḍaka is a Dravidian term meaning 'full of water.' Wells were unknown in this country till recently. The country was full of tanks and lakes throughout its length and breadth, and there are still some places in the Drug district, formerly a part of Raipur, where marshes still survive.

From what I have said above, it will have to be admitted that there is some mistake in recording the distances or interpreting their exact value,[19] whether one fixes the capital at Sirpur or Bhândak. To my mind, both the places seem at present to have equal claims to the honour of a visit from that great pilgrim of China, but Bhândak seems to possess more tangible evidence than Sirpur.

[18] Nelson's *Chanda District Gazetteer*. p. 8.

[19] We have as a rule accepted 6 *li* to a mile. In a footnote on page 332, vol. II, of Watters's *Yuan Chwang*, M. Foucher's opinion is quoted that the expression 'about 50 *li*,' as used by Yuan Chwang, is ordinarily an approximate equivalent for a day's march, which was variable in length, but averaged about 4 French leagues, or nearly 10 English miles ; but Giles in the *Oxford Dictionary* lays down 10 miles as equivalent to 27$\frac{3}{4}$ *li*.

PROCLAMATION OF AŚOKA AS A BUDDHIST, AND HIS JAMBUDVÎPA.

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BAR.-AT-LAW.

(a) Explanation of the phrase 'gods made mingled with men.'

THE Rûpnâth Series Proclamation (Hultzsch, pp. 166, 228), miscalled 'Minor Inscriptions,' is the most important proclamation of the emperor. In this he issues his proclamation as an 'open Buddhist' (*prakâsa Śake ;* Maski—'*Budha Śake*). He has no more hesitation in openly owning his religion which formerly the traditional constitutional position of the Hindu monarch prevented him from owning.[1] He had preached the positivism of the Buddha's system, calling it his own, but now his conscience was moved to make a public declaration ; and this declaration he couples with the **result of his positive propaganda,** summed up in one sentence :

> "Those gods who during that time [i.e., his pre-conversion time] had been unmingled (with men) in Jambudvîpa have now been made (by me) mingled (with them)." (Hultzsch, p. 168.)

Hultzsch calls this enigmatical, and seeks to explain it by reference to Rock Proclamation IV, where the king mentions his shows of divine scenes (*divyâni rûpâni*—Girnâr). Prof. F. W. Thomas (*C.H.I.*, i. 505) takes it to signify that the king "brought the Brâhman gods to the knowledge of those people in India, i.e., the wild tribes, who had formerly known nothing of them."

The meaning is, as we shall presently see, something different. The sentence is a masterpiece of epigrammatic statement, disclosing the great literary power of the emperor and at the same time intimate acquaintance with the traditional lore of the orthodox Hindu system. Aśoka turned back, surveying in the *siṁhâvaloka* fashion, and saying to his orthodox countrymen, '*I, your king, have brought about the* **tretâ-yuga** *in Jambudvîpa.*' His sentence puts in a summary form the Purâṇic description of the *Golden Age* of morality :

Cf.

Saptarshayo Manuś chaiva âdau manvantarasya ha,
prârambhante cha karmmâṇi **manushyâ daivataiḥ saha**
—*Vâyu*, i. 61. 164.

Men acting with the Devas (*manushyâ daivataiḥ saha*) initiate an order of perfect Dharma :

Manvantarâdau prâgeva
tretâyuga-*mukhe tataḥ* |
pûrvaṁ devâs tatas te vai
sthite dharme tu sarvaśaḥ || (165).

The same orthodox Hindu tradition is to be found in the *Dharma-sûtra* of Âpastamba (2. 7. 16) : *saha deva-manushyâ asmil-loke purâ babhûvuḥ.* In other words, Aśoka points out that he has brought about a **new epoch, the ideal epoch.** This was obtained through his approaching the Buddhist Saṁgha and by his own 'prowess' or 'exertion' (*parâkrama*).

And this revolution was brought about not only in India but over a larger area, **Jambudvîpa**, which obviously included the countries of some of his non-Indian international neighbours and the countries which had not the privilege of receiving his envoys, where his *dharmânuśasti, dharma-vutaṁ*, and his *vidhâna* or *dharma-vidhâna* were being followed, and which had become subject to that form of his conquest which alone gave the emperor pleasure and satisfaction, i.e., his Conquest of Dharma (Rock P. XIII).[2] The Jambudvîpa of Aśoka thus meant an area larger than India, and it certainly included his own people on the Oxus.

[1] Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity,* ii. 45. He was bound by his coronation oath to protect the orthodox traditional religion.

[2] *Tretâyuga* was essentially an imperial period :

त्रेतायां क्षत्रिया राजन् सर्वे वै चक्रवर्त्तिन : । *MBh., Bhîṣma*, X. 11.

The implication is that the privilege which was confined by the orthodox system to the land of India, the privilege of having the moral *yuga*, a privilege which is expressly denied by the orthodox system to the countries outside the limits of Bhâratavarṣa, was made available, and demonstrably so, by the emperor to all, even to the Mlecchas.[3]

There was justification put forward here along with an open avowal of a non-Vedic or anti-Vedic system of religion, though at his coronation Aśoka must have taken the oath to protect and follow the ancient orthodox religious system.

Aśoka's Originality and Greatness.

Aśoka thus stood before his countrymen as the holy Indian emperor from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean—from Ceylon to Greece and Egypt—and as having brought about a new ethical order, and this also amongst those whom the *śâstras* of his country had regarded as spiritually disenfranchised by the very law of primeval creation. The Buddha opened up Buddhism and *sannyâsa* to the whole of the non-Brâhman Hindu community ; Aśoka opened his Dharma to the whole of humanity. Without Aśoka, Buddhism would have remained an intra-mural religion confined to India, a Hindu religious system confined to the Hindus, just like Jainism. Probably it did not occur to the Buddha to make Dharma available to the Mlecchas. The conception of a world-religion and enfranchisement of the whole world enabling the whole world—Indian and non-Indian alike—to partake of the truth, the positivism, of Buddhism, a truth which Aśoka valued as the highest truth, was the originality of Aśoka, not of the Buddhist Church as he founded it. He truly became an all-world conqueror, the *Dharma-cakrvartin* over the known world. He, in the words of his race, caused the initiation of a new *manvantara*, a new *kalpa*, in the world. He expressed the hope that this new order (his Dharma) would last for a long *kalpa*, sincerely bequeathing it to posterity by the testament of his inscriptions.

(*b*) Jambudvîpa.

The name *Jambudvîpa* is found in Buddhist Pâli *sûtras* as well as in Sanskrit literature. Its earliest definition in Sanskrit is to be found in the *Mahâbhârata* and then in the *Matsya Purâṇa* (*c.* 250 A.D.) They, however, avowedly borrow the geographical matter from the earlier edition of the *Purâṇa* text.[4] The geographical material of the *Purâṇas* is of a very early date, which we shall presently see, and is probably even more important than the historical.

Jambudvîpa, according to the description therein given, comprised almost the whole of Asia.[5] It is wrong to translate it by 'India.' I have pointed out above, on the basis of the inscriptions, that Aśoka's Jambudvîpa included a much larger area than India, i.e., than India-*cum*-Afghânistân. Now let us take the data of the *Matsya*.

(*a*) **India Proper** is called by it *Mânavadvîpa* (Ch. 113. 9-17), which some *Purâṇas* call *Kumârîdvîpa*, named after *Kumârî*, a name which survives in our present day 'Cape Comorin.' It gives the measurement of this *dvîpa* from Kumârî to the source of the Ganges.[6]

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3 'There are four *yugas* in Bhâratavarṣa '—*MBh.*, *Bhîṣma*, X. 3 ; *Viṣnu P.*, II. 3. 19.

इह स्वर्गापवर्गार्थं प्रवृतिरिह मानुषे । *Matsya*, 113. 14.

यतो हि कर्मभूरेषा ततोन्या भोगभूमय : । *Viṣṇu*, II. 3. 23.

4 *Bhîṣma*, XII. 41. *Matsya*, 123. 9, and various other passages. Both have cited mostly identical verses.

5 In one place the *MBh.* employs the term in lieu of Bhâratavarṣa (*Bhîṣma*, vi. 13), but this was, as the commentator has rightly pointed out, due to the leading position of Bhâratavarṣa in Jambudvîpa ; throughout its treatment the *MBh.* takes Bhâratavarṣa as one of the *varṣas* of Jambukhaṇḍa or Jambudvîpa, like the Purâṇas, citing the very texts mostly. The *MBh.* at places condenses the Purâṇic text.

6 The real source of the Ganges, according to the Purâṇas, lay in a lake in Tibet.

(*b*) India Proper was a part of **Bhâratavarṣa**, which extended in the north up to the valley of the Oxus (113. 40-43) (120. 43-46). The Bhâratavarṣa division goes back to the time of Megasthenes. See, for instance, Frag. IV of Schwanbeck (Strabo, XV. i. ii ; McCrindle, p. 48) :

" India is bounded on the north by the extremities of Tauros, and from Ariana to the Eastern Sea by the mountains which are variously called by the natives of these regions *Parapanisos*, and *Hemodos*, and *Himaos*, and other names, but by the Macedonians *Kaukasos*."

This larger area of India, i.e., Bhâratavarṣa goes really beyond the Maurya times. This is to be gathered from Herodotus, who says (iii. 102) :

" There are other Indians bordering on the city of Kaspatyros and the country of Paktyke, settled northward of the other Indians, who resemble the Baktrians in the way they live. They are the most warlike of the Indians and are the men whom they send to procure the gold [paid to the king of Persia], for their country adjoins the desert of sand."

(*c*) Bhâratavarṣa along with other *varṣas* made up **Jambudvîpa**. They were, according to an earlier Purâṇic division cited by the present Purâṇas, four, and according to another division, seven in number (*Matsya*, 112. 7). *Varṣa* means ' country ' (112. 26) divided and bounded by mountain ranges. There are several mountain ranges in the continent of Jambudvîpa. One, to the north of India, is called **Niṣadha**. I take it to be the same as the Parapanisad of the Greeks, variously spelt as *Parapamisad* and *Paropanisad*.[7] *Parap* probably represents *parva*, which means a section of a range, according to Purâṇic geography.[8] The **Niṣadha** and **Meru** were in close proximity, as a river (Jambu) is mentioned as situated by the south side of Meru and the north side of the Niṣadha (*Meros tu dakshiṇe pârśve Niṣadhasyottareṇa tu—Vâyu*, 46. 23).

There is no doubt that the Purâṇic Meru is the Meros of Alexander's historians, and the river is probably the Panjshîr.[9] According to the Purâṇas it was a gold-producing area and its peculiar gold was called Jâmbûnada.

The central part of Jambudvîpa is the country of the Pâmîrs, ' Meru-land.' Its range is *Mahâ-Meru* (the Larger Meru). The region to the south of the Pâmîrs is sometimes called *Himavarṣa*,[10] which Yuan Chwang calls *Hima-tala*.[11] Probably it is this word that we find in the Greek form *Himaos*. ' The Snowy Range ' of the Hindus seems to have included the mountains of north-western Afghânistân, and was more extensive than our ' Himalayas.' Cf. Yuan Chwang (*Life*, pp. 197-198) :

" ' From this country, again going east across mountains 700 *li*, we reach the valley of Pâmîr. This valley is about 1000 *li* from east to west, and 100 *li* or so from north to south. It lies between two ranges of the Snowy Mountains.....The soil is always frozen....[12] In the middle of this valley is a great lake, 200 *li* from east to west, and fifty *li* from north to south. It lies in the centre of Jambudvîpa.... "

7 McCrindle, *Invasion of India*, p. 58, *n*.

8 *a-parvâṇas tu girayaḥ, parvabhiḥ parvatâḥ smṛitâḥ—Vâyu*, 49. 132.

9 The local tree of this area, bearing sweet juicy fruit called *jambu* in the *Purâṇas*, is probably the plum tree. According to a passage of the *Viṣṇu*, the geographical trees—e.g., *jambu*, *śâka*—were indicators of particular mountain ranges [on maps] (*Vayu*, II, 2, 18 : पादपा गिरिकेवत :) For Hindu maps, see *MBh.* Bk. vi (*Bhîṣma*), ch. 6 ; 2, 39, 56 ; Megasthenes, p. 52.

10 Also Haimavata (Gk. '*Hemodos*); sometimes separate from India, but mostly part of it : e.g., इदं तु भारतं वर्षं ततो हैमवतं परम् । *Bhîṣma*, VI. 7 ; इमं हैमवतं वर्षं भारतं नाम विश्रुतम् । —*Matsya*, 112. 28.

11 *Life*, p. 196 : " Again going from *Mung K'ien*, entering the mountains and travelling for 300 *li* or so, we come to the country of *Hi-mo-ta-lo* : this also was a part of the old Tukhâra territory.

12 Cf. *Matsya*. 114. 19.

This, along with the account of the Oxus and Śîta rivers which follows, is almost a verbal corroboration of the Purâṇic description of the Pâmîrs.

The four large divisions of Jambudvîpa are:

N. Uttara Kuru, situated to the south of the Northern Sea (*Uttara samudra*).
S. Bhârata.
E. Bhadrâśva (up to the sea, i.e., China).
W. Ketumâla (up to the sea, i.e., Asia Minor).

Ketumâla is identified by the later Hindu astronomer Bhâskara Âcârya, who calls its westernmost town Romaka, i.e., Constantinople. The Purâṇic description fully bears out this identification.

According to the second division of Jambudvîpa referred to above, in which seven *varṣas* are enumerated, it becomes clear that the whole of Asia minus Arabia is included in Jambudvîpa. By or below the *Niṣadha* there was **Hari-varṣa**. This country, *Hari*, is thus identical with the name and country called **Haraiva or Hariva** by Darius, i.e., the country from Meshed to Herat, the Ariana of the Greeks. The old name survives in the modern Heri. The next *varṣa* or country in the Purâṇas is a large area called **Ilâvṛita**, which must go back to the Elamite empire. Ilabrat was the chief messenger of the gods, or 'the god of the wings' (cf. *Mythology of All Races*, vol. V, *Semitic*, by S. Langdon, p. 177). To the **Tibetan region** and adjacent parts the Purâṇas give the name **Kinnara-** or **Kimpuruṣa-varṣa**, probably owing to the inhabitants being nearly devoid of moustaches and whiskers. To the north of the Pâmîrs there are two parallel divisions, **Ramaṇaka** (or **Ramyaka**), i.e., the country of the 'nomads,' and **Hiraṇya**, which evidently stand for Central Asia and Mongolia, as the country to their north, Uttara Kuru was known as reaching the Northern Sea. Uttara Kuru thus represents Siberia.

Thus the four larger divisions are really the four most distant countries—India, Asia Minor, China and Siberia, and the seven consist of

1. India (with its frontiers on the Pâmîrs).
2. The Herat country.
3. Tibet.
4. Ilavṛita, from the Pâmîrs and Herat (probably) to the Persian Gulf.
5. Central Asia.
6. Mongolia.
7. Siberia.

Arabia is counted as a different *dvîpa*. It is bounded on three sides by the sea. A *dvîpa*, according to the Purâṇic description, should have seas on (at least) two sides. Arabia is called Puṣkara, which according to the Purâṇas, is the only *dvîpa* which has no river and only one mountain. Its name, *Puṣkara dvîpa*, the 'lake *dvîpa*,' is probably due to its being regarded as having inhabited land on all sides, surrounding an area of sand which represented a dried-up sheet of water.

The Purâṇic division of the then known world is thus ancient. It stands to reason that the ancient Hindus must have known their neighbours. The Purâṇas show a minute knowledge of **Mid-Asia**. Their name, **Nila**, for a large range of mountains is a translation of the Chinese name, 'Blue Mountains'; and their '**Golden Mountains**' represent the **Altai** Mountains, the Mongolian name for which (*Altain-ula*) means the 'mountains of gold.' The Purâṇas assert that in the Central (Pâmîr) Region there was a very large lake, called by them **Bindusara**, which was the source of the Oxus and several other, named, rivers. Modern

[13] *C.H.I.*, i, 338.
[14] *Enc. Brit.* (11th ed.), XIII, 332.

research has shown that Lake Victoria is the remnant of a much larger lake that covered the valley in former ages. The Purâṇas say that the Oxus falls into the 'Western Sea,' by which they mean the Caspian. We now know that the Caspian was much larger in past ages, and included the present Sea of Aral. The Purâṇas call the Turkistân desert the 'desert of the sea.' These facts and the very ancient names *Ilâvṛita* and *Hari-varṣa* prove that the Purâṇic geographical data of Jambudvîpa are much earlier than the time of Aśoka, and that the name which Aśoka used had long been established for the major portion of the known world. As the Purâṇas seem to have different names for Egypt (*Kuśa-dvîpa*) and Europe (*Krauñca-dvîpa*) we have to neglect Bhâskara Âcârya's view (which is much later in date) that Jambudvîpa included the whole of the northern hemisphere [the northern hemisphere according to him being land and the southern hemisphere being sea].

Following the definition of the ancient Purâṇas, it seems that Aśoka's Jambudvîpa was confined to Asia, and his success was more marked there than in Greece and Egypt, for in his summary of result he particularises Jambudvîpa.

MEAN SAṂKRÂNTIS.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

IN his paper on 'The Brahma-siddhânta of Brahmagupta, A.D. 628; Mean System, published in vol. XVII of the *Epigraphia Indica*, the late Mr. Robert Sewell observed that, in India, details for the calendar, that is, of *tithis, nakṣatras, saṃkrântis*, etc., were certainly calculated till the eleventh century at least everywhere, and for several centuries thereafter in some places, on the mean, instead of the true or apparent, motions of sun and moon. And he therefore published in that journal many tables by means of which one can calculate and determine, according to the Ârya and Brahma Siddhântas, the moment when mean *saṃkrântis* occurred, and mean *tithis, nakṣatras*, etc., began and ended.

Tables LXXVI and XC in these papers give the exact moment of occurrence of the mean Meṣa-saṃkrânti according to these Siddhântas, while tables LXXVII and XCI give the periods of time that intervene between this moment and the moments of occurrence of the other mean *saṃkrântis*. Tables LXI and LXXXII, on the other hand, give the moment of occurrence of the true Meṣa-saṃkrânti according to these Siddhântas, which moment is quite different from the moment of occurrence of the mean Meṣa-saṃkrânti. Now, the moment of occurrence of the Meṣa-saṃkrânti marks the commencement of the solar year; and it hence becomes evident from the above tables that Mr. Sewell opined that the compilers of the mean-system *pañcâṅgas* according to the Brahma, Ârya and other Siddhântas put down in their almanacs as the time of commencement of the solar year, the moment of occurrence of the mean, and not of the true, Meṣa-saṃkrânti, and that they made this moment the basis for their calculation of the moments of occurrence of the other mean *saṃkrântis*.

To take a concrete instance, Mr. Sewell gives in tables XC and LXXVI the moment of occurrence of mean Meṣa-saṃkrânti, according to the Brahma and Ârya Siddhântas, of Ky. year 4287 current (A.D. 1185) as 15hrs. 54m. 54s. on Monday, 25th March, and 16h. 55m. 0s. on Tuesday, 26th March, respectively, while in tables LXXXII and LXI, he gives the moment of occurrence of true Meṣa-saṃkrânti of the same Ky. year and according to the same Siddhântas, as 11h. 45m. 41s. on Saturday, 23rd March, and 13h. 22m. 30s. on Sunday, 24th March, respectively. It is therefore apparent that, in Mr. Sewell's opinion, the compilers of the mean-system almanacs by the Brahma and Ârya Siddhântas for the Ky. year 4287 current had put down in them Monday, 25th March, and Tuesday, 26th March (and not Saturday, 23rd March, and Sunday, 24th March) as the day on which the solar year commenced and that they calculated from these days the days on which the mean Vṛṣabha, Mithuna and other *saṃkrântis* occurred.

There can be no doubt that Mr. Sewell had good grounds on which he based the above opinion ; and it is hence all the more remarkable that in the few dates that I have met with which seem to cite mean *saṃkrântis*, these mean *saṃkrântis* are calculated from the moment of occurrence of *true*, and not mean, Meṣa-saṃkrânti. These dates are but five in number and are the following :

1. Date of Arsikere inscription of the time of Vîraballâḷa II (*Ep. Car.*, V. Arsikere 93 ; p. 344) : *Śaka* 1111 *Kîlaka, Puṣya-amâvâsyâ, Bhânuvâra, vyatîpâta-saṃkramaṇa.*

Śaka 1111 current=Kîlaka by the southern luni-solar system. In this year, Puṣya-amâvâsyâ (i.e., the *amâvâsyâ* at the end of the *amânta* month Puṣya) ended on Tuesday, 20th December, and Monday, 19th December, A.D. 1188, according to the mean and true systems of working. No *saṃkrânti*, mean or true, was associated with either of these two days ; and the date is hence irregular for this year. It is likewise irregular for the northern luni-solar Kîlaka also (concerning the use of northern luni-solar Jovian years in S. India, see my *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*, p. 4 ff.) ; for, in this year, Puṣya-amâvâsyâ began, by the mean as well as true system of working, on Monday, 3rd December 1184, and ended on the next day, Tuesday, 4th December, and there was no *saṃkrânti*, mean or true, associated with either of these days. In the year following this northern luni-solar Kîlaka however (regarding such years, see p. 35 ff. in *op. cit.*) or the year but one preceding the southern luni-solar Kîlaka (see regarding such years, p. 45, *op. cit.*), true Meṣa-saṃkrânti, according to the Brahma Siddhânta, occurred at 11h. 45m. 41s. on Saturday, 23rd March 1185 A.D., and the mean Makara-saṃkrânti, counting from this moment, occurred 273 days 22h. 39m. 6s. later on **Sunday, 22nd December 1185,** at 10h. 24m. 47s. The mean Puṣya-amâvâsyâ too began on this Sunday at 14h. 17m. 0s. The mean Meṣa-saṃkrânti occurred on Monday, 25th March, at 15h. 54m. 54s. and the mean Makara-saṃkrânti, counting from this moment, at 14h. 34m. 0s. on Tuesday, 24th December 1185, on which day the mean *tithi* Puṣya-ba 1 ended and ba-2 began. The true Makara-saṃkrânti too occurred on that Tuesday at 3h. 52m. 31s.

It is thus obvious that Sunday, 22nd December 1185 A.D., is the equivalent of the date[1] given in the inscription, and that the compiler of the almanac from which the details of the above date were taken had given in it 11h. 45m. 41s. of Saturday, 23rd March 1185; as the beginning of the solar year and calculated from that moment the moment of occurrence of the mean Makara-saṃkrânti.

2. Date of another Arsikere inscription of the time of Vîraballâḷa II (*Ep. Car.*, V. Arsikere 90 ; p. 343) : *Śaka* 1111 *Kîlaka, Puṣya-amâvâsyâ, Somavâra, vyatîpâta-saṃkramaṇa.*

It will be seen that the details of this date are identical with those of no. 1 given above with the exception that the weekday here is Monday, and not Sunday. Since we have also seen above that on Sunday, 22nd December A.D. 1185, the equivalent of date no. 1, Puṣya-amâvâsyâ began and ended on the following Monday, it is obvious that this **Monday, 23rd December A.D. 1185,** is the day denoted by the inscription. According to the Ârya Siddhânta, the mean Makara-saṃkrânti occurred after 273 days 22h. 39m. 22s. counting from the moment of occurrence of true Meṣa-saṃkrânti (13h. 22m. 30s. on Sunday, 24th March 1185), at 12h. 1m. 52s. on this Monday ; and the mean *tithi* Puṣya-amâvâsyâ too ended on this Monday at 14h. 27m. 28s.

In my above-cited book, I have given Monday, 24th January A.D. 1183, as the equivalent of this date (p. 100 ; no. 126) and also of four other dates. Comparison with date no. 1 given above, however, shows clearly that the equivalent of this date is Monday, 23rd December 1185, and not Monday, 24th January 1183. In the same way, the former Monday

[1] The mention of *vyatîpâta* in this date, and in the following dates, is honorific (see in this connection *op. cit.*, p. 19) ; for, the *yoga vyatîpâta* can, in no circumstance, occur in conjunction with the *tithis* cited in these dates.

is the equivalent of date no. 127 also in *op. cit.* (*Śaka* 1107 ***Viśvâvasu, Puṣya-amâvâsyâ***, Monday, *vyatîpâta-saṃkramaṇa* ; Śaka 1107 expired=Viśvâvasu=A.D. 1185), while the latter Monday is the correct equivalent of dates no. 125, 129 and 128 in *op. cit.* The first two of these three dates mention the year Śobhakṛt and Śaka 1106 current and 1105 expired [=A.D. 1183] while the year Plavaṅga mentioned in the third must be understood to refer to the northern luni-solar year of that name, which corresponded to A.D. 1183.

3. Date of Bidare inscription of the time of the Hoysala king Narasiṃha I (*Ep. Car.*, VI. Kaḍûr 72 ; p. 46) : *Śaka* 1084 *Citra-bhânu, Puṣya-pûrṇimâ, Âdivâra, uttarâyaṇa-saṃkramaṇa-vyatîpâta.*

Śaka 1084 expired=Citrabhânu by the southern luni-solar system. In this year, mean Makara-saṃkrânti calculating from the moment of true Meṣa-saṃkrânti, occurred according to the Ârya Siddhânta, at 13h. 14m. 22s. on **Sunday, 23rd December A.D. 1162,** and calculating from the moment of mean Meṣa-saṃkrânti, at 16h. 46m. 52s. on Tuesday, 25th December. The true Makara-saṃkrânti too occurred on that Tuesday at 6h. 16m. 48s. The mean *tithi* Puṣya-su 15 ended on the above Sunday at about 3h. 34m. 8s., while the mean *tithis* associated with the above Tuesday were Puṣya-ba 2 (ending) and Puṣya-ba 3 (beginning). It is hence evident that this Sunday, 23rd December 1162, is the regular equivalent of the date given in the inscription.

4. Date of Belavâḷa inscription of the time of the above king (*Ibid.* Kaḍûr 16 ; p. 8) : ***Śaka*** 1094 ***Khara, Mârgaśira-su*** 14, ***Somavâra, uttarâyaṇa-saṃkramaṇa-vyatîpâta.***

Śaka 1094 current=Khara by the southern luni-solar system ; for this year the date is irregular. In the previous year however (regarding such years, see *op. cit.*, p. 31 ff.), mean Dhanus-saṃkrânti, according to the Ârya Siddhânta, occurred at 4h. 23m. 20s. on **Monday 23rd November 1170 A.D.,** when calculated from the moment of occurrence of the true Meṣa-saṃkrânti, and at 7h. 55m. 56s. on Wednesday, 25th November, when calculated from the moment of occurrence of the mean Meṣa-saṃkrânti. True Dhanus-saṃkrânti too occurred on this Wednesday at 23h. 31m. 0s.

The mean *tithi* Mârgaśira-su 14 began on the above Monday at about 4h. 16m. 32s., while the mean *tithis* associated with the above Wednesday were Mârgaśira-su 15 (ending) and ba-1 (beginning) ; and it is thus obvious that the above-mentioned Monday (23rd November A.D. 1170) is the equivalent of the date given in the inscription.

Regarding the epithet *uttarâyaṇa* applied to the Dhanus-saṃkrânti, see *op. cit.*, p. 25 f.

5. Date of the Ânekere copper-grant of Vîraballâḷa II (*Ep. Car.*, V. Cannarâyapaṭṭaṇa 179 ; p. 462) : *Śaka* 1113 *Saumya, Puṣya-ba* 11, *Âdityavâra, uttarâyaṇa-saṃkramaṇa.*

This date has already been discussed by me on p. 126 in *IHQ.*, vol. 4. As I have said there, the date is irregular for Śaka 1113* which corresponded to Saumya by the southern luni-solar system. In the following year however, mean Makara-saṃkrânti, according to the Ârya Siddhânta, occurred at 19h. 4m. 22s. on **Sunday, 23rd December A.D. 1190,** when calculated from the moment of occurrence of true Meṣa-saṃkrânti, and at 22h. 36m. 52s. on Tuesday, 25th December, when calculated from that of mean Meṣa-saṃkrânti. The true Makara-saṃkrânti too occurred on that Tuesday at 12h. 6m. 48s.

The mean *tithi* Puṣya-ba 11 began on the above Sunday at about 13h. 51m. 23s., while the mean *tithis* associated with the above Tuesday were Puṣya-ba 12 (ending) and ba-13 (beginning) ; and it is hence obvious that the equivalent of the date given in the inscription is Sunday, 23rd December A.D. 1190.[2]

[2] The calculations in this paper have been made with the help of Mr. Sewell's tables referred to above ; and in connection with dates 2-5, it may be observed that the results are the same if one uses the Sûrya, instead of the Ârya, Siddhânta.

The hours, minutes and seconds given above should in all cases be counted from the moment of mean Laṅkâ sunrise on the days mentioned.

These are the only dates that I know of in which mean *saṃkrântis* seem to be cited ; and it becomes clear from what has been said above that these mean *saṃkrântis* have in all cases been calculated from the moment of occurrence of the true Meṣa-saṃkrânti. In other words, the compilers of the professedly mean-system almanacs from which the details of the above dates were taken, had given in them as the beginning of the solar year, the moment of occurrence of the true and not the mean Meṣa-saṃkrânti. This is, on the face of it, inconsistent ; and the question hence arises in one's mind, why should this have been so ? Why did the compilers of professedly mean-system almanacs give the moment of occurrence of the true, and not the mean, Meṣa-saṃkrânti as the beginning of the solar year ? The only answer that suggests itself to me in this connection is this : As is well-known, it is explicitly stated in the Ârya and Brahma Siddhântas that, though the Ky. era began at mean sunrise on Friday, 18th February B.C. 3102, the year that began on that day (Ky. year 1 current or 0 expired) was the luni-solar year, and that the true solar year really began on Tuesday, 15th February B.C. 3102, at 20h. 27m. 30s. and 19h. 52m. 22s., respectively. It is easily conceivable therefore that a *jyotiṣika* who wanted to compile a mean-system *pañcâṅga* for, say, the Ky. year 4000 expired according to the Ârya Siddhânta, would have chosen the above-given moment as his starting-point, and by adding to it 365.2586805 (length of the solar year according to the Ârya Siddhânta) × 4000 days, arrived at the result that the solar year Ky. 4000 expired began on Thursday, 22nd March A.D. 899, at 13h. 47m. 3s. With this moment as basis, he would then, by adding to it 30.438223 days and its multiples determine the moment of occurrence of the mean Vṛṣabha, Mithuna and other *saṃkrântis*, and at the end, by adding 30.438223 days to the moment of occurrence, so determined, of the mean Mîna-saṃkrânti, arrive at the result that the mean Meṣa-saṃkrânti of the Ky. year 4001 expired occurred at 20h. 0m. 0s. on Friday, 21st March A.D. 900. This however happens to be the exact moment of occurrence of the true Meṣa-saṃkrânti. And thus the moment of occurrence of mean Meṣa-saṃkrânti, determined in this manner by the *jyotiṣika* aforesaid, would be identical in every case with that of true Meṣa-saṃkrânti, due to the circumstance that this *jyotiṣika* took as his starting-point 19h. 52m. 22s. of 15th February B. C. 3102.

At the same time, it is also conceivable that another *jyotiṣika* may have taken as his starting-point 0h. 0m. 0s. (i.e., exactly 6 A.M.) of Friday, 18th February B.C. 3102 (at this moment began the mean-system solar year Ky. 1 current according to the above two Siddhântas), and by adding to it 365.2586805 × 4000 days, arrived (as Mr. Sewell has done) at the result that the solar year Ky. 4000 expired, according to the Ârya Siddhânta mean system, began on Saturday, 24th March A.D. 899, at 17h. 20m. 0s., and calculated from this moment the moment of occurrence of the mean Vṛṣabha, Mithuna and other *saṃkrântis*. These moments are, naturally, different from those determined according to the former method and also from those determined according to the true system of working.

This difference in the moment of occurrence of the mean *saṃkrântis* leads, in its turn, to a consequence that we must take account of : it causes a difference in the names of lunar months. Thus, to take an instance, I have said in connection with date no. 1 discussed above that, according to the Brahma Siddhânta mean system, mean Puṣya-amâvâsyâ began at 14h. 17m. 0s. on Sunday, 22nd December 1185 A.D. According to Mr. Sewell's method of calculating mean *saṃkrântis*, however, the month of Mârgaśira was *adhika* in this year (see his table XC) and the mean *tithi* that began on the above Sunday was not Puṣya-amâvâsyâ, but Mârgaśira-amâvâsyâ. According to the Brahma Siddhânta true system too, that *tithi* was Mârgaśira-amâvâsyâ ; but the intercalated month was not Mârgaśira but Bhâdrapada (see his table LXXXII). On the other hand, according to the method of calculating mean *saṃkrântis* that was adopted in connection with the five dates given above, there was no intercalation at all in the year A.D. 1185, and the mean *tithi* that began on the above Sunday *was* Puṣya-amâvâsyâ ; but the month Caitra was intercalated in the next year, A.D. 1186-7.

The difference in the method of calculating mean *saṃkrântis* has thus, in this instance, led to a difference in the names of five lunar months ; and what, according to one method, are the months of *adhika*-Mârgaśira, Mârgaśira, Puṣya, Mâgha and Phâlguna, are, according to the other method, the months of Mârgaśira, Puṣya, Mâgha, Phâlguna and *adhika*-Caitra respectively.

As already observed above, however, I have not up to now come across any date which cites a mean *saṃkrânti* calculated according to the method adopted by Mr. Sewell, while, on the other hand, the five dates given above cite, clearly, mean *saṃkrântis* calculated according to a different method. It would be well therefore if computers of Indian dates, and especially those that use Mr. Sewell's tables referred to above for this purpose, bear in mind that there is a method of calculating mean *saṃkrântis* which is different from that adopted by him, and that the employment of this method leads, not only to a difference in the time at which the mean *saṃkrântis* took place, but, occasionally, to a difference in the years in which intercalary months occurred, and in the names of lunar months also.

THE LUNAR CULT IN INDIA.

BY V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A.

IN an informing note on 'the Traces of Lunar cult in India' in the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, vol. XII (1930), Professor Giuseppe Tucci makes the following observation. "While sun worship was widely spread in India, it does not appear that the moon was ever raised to the rank of an independent divinity, or that it ever had its own temples and its own devotees." (Translated from the original Italian by Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham in the *Ind. Ant.*, Jan. 1932, p. 17.) An endeavour is made here to show that the lunar cult was as old as the solar cult, and the moon enjoyed an independent status like any other deity of the Vedic pantheon. The worship of the moon, like that of the sun, must be traced back to the Vedic period of India's ancient history. It is generally known that orthodox tradition classifies the *Yajurveda saṃhitâ* into four *kâṇḍams*. These are the *Prajâpatikâṇḍam*, *Saumya kâṇḍam*, *Âgneya kâṇḍam* and *Vaiśvadeva kâṇḍam*. Of these, the *Saumya kâṇḍam* is in honour of the moon, who is raised to the rank of divinities like the Prajâpati-, Agni- and Viśvadevas. The texts of the *Saṃhitâ* which are devoted to the elaboration of sacrificial ritual refer to the moon as an *adhipati* of the sacrifice, and hence a *devatâ*. If the evidence of the *Yajurveda-saṃhitâ* teaches us anything, it is that the moon is raised to the rank of a *yajña* or sacrificial deity and is undoubtedly a Vedic god. There is again the invaluable testimony of the *Brâhmaṇa* literature where the moon is looked upon as an independent divinity. In the *Taittirîya Brâhmaṇa* we have what is known as the *Somasûktam*, and this *sûktam* is celebrated in honour of the moon (II, viii, 3). These hymns in praise of the moon can be favourably compared to the *Rudrasûktam*, *Puruṣasûktam* and other Vedic *sûktams* of much importance. Added to this is the statement that the presiding deity of the *ṣaḍhotâ* in the sacrificial literature is no one else than Candra or the moon-god. (*Ibid.*, II, ii, 11-12.) Besides their use in the *yajñas* or sacrifices, they are used in connection with a number of ceremonials attending the innumerable *vratams* or special vows and the installation of images in temples, much adumbrated in the Purâṇa literature and the Âgama treatises as well. (See the *Matsya-purâṇa*, ch. 265, 24.)

The Purâṇas, which are regarded as the fifth Veda according to the tradition transmitted in the Indian religious and secular works, make elaborate references to the different aspects of the lunar cult. The moon is one of the ten *dig-pâlas* or the guardian deities of the directions. (See the *Matsya Purâṇa*, ch. 266-26.) He is the lord of the twenty-seven *nakṣatras* (*Ibid.*, ch. 23. 1 ff.) and is one of the nine planets which go by the name of *navagrahas*. (*Ibid.*, ch. 93-10.) He is above all the *ôṣadhipati*, or the lord of oceans and plants. (*Ibid.*, ch. 266, 25.)

Let us now turn our attention to the vast treasures of Tamil literature of South India, and try to find out whether the Tamil literary tradition has anything to corroborate the above statements and to throw fresh light on the topic under discussion. The *Tolkâppiyam*, which cannot be later than fourth century B.C., has a significant expression, *aṟumuṟaivâḻttu*, or in praise of six deities or persons. Perhaps Ilaṅko-Aḍigaḷ follows this custom if one examines carefully the opening lines of that epic, the *Śilappadikâram*. The author of the *Śilappadikâram* mentions these six in the following order: moon, sun, rains, world, sages and the king of the land. (Canto I, ll. 1 ff.) It is of particular interest to note that the Tamil classic of the second century A.D. begins with an invocation to the moon god. (See M. Raghava Aiyangar's *Tolkâppiya Poruladhikâra Âraicci*, 2nd ed., p. 129, *note*.) According to the celebrated commentator Naccinârkkiniyar, the *Vaḷḷivâḻttu* is the hymn in praise of Vaḷḷi or the moon. (See the gloss on *Tolk. Puratt. sûtra*, 33.) It will thus appear that from the time of the grammarian Tolkâppiyanâr, if not earlier, the moon came to be recognised by the Tamils as one among their different deities, and a place of high honour is given by the prince-poet Ilaṅko-Aḍigaḷ to the moon (*tiṅgal*). But what is more important and most interesting is the unmistakable reference to a temple of moon. The tamil expression for that temple is *Nilâkkoṭṭam* (Canto IX, l. 13), which existed in ancient Puhâr or Kâvêripaṭṭanam. Here is an explicit statement of the existence of a temple dedicated to the moon which cannot be disputed. According to Ktesias (400 B.C.) there were temples dedicated to the sun and moon, at a distance of 15 days' journey from Mount Abu. After quoting this authority Mr. C. V. Vaidya further remarks: "There was a temple of the moon at Prabhâsa." (*History of Mediæval India*, vol. I, p. 255.) These evidences bear ample testimony to the existence of moon temples in India and moon worship both in the north and the far south.

Though the temples of the moon have disappeared, the worship of the moon still continues. A relic of the old custom which is frequently referred to in the *Śaṅgam* works and later Tamil literature goes by the name of *Piṟaitoḻutal*, literally, the worship of the moon. (See *Kuṟuntogai*, stanza 307. *Iṟayanâr Ahapporul, sûtra* 7, p. 67 and the stray but rare stanza quoted in the same page: *Nâlaḍiyâr*, stanza 176: See also the *Perumtogai* collection of M. Râghava Aiyangar, p. 32.) Here is a stanza praising the moon, technically entitled *devapâṇi*. That this class of poems existed is seen from the comment of Arumpadavurai âcâriyar on the line 37, Canto VI of the *Śilappadikâram*.)

In this connection the *Tirukkovai*, which deals with *Ahapporul*, is worthy of note. The *Tirukkovai*, of Mânikkavâśakar of the ninth century A.D. belongs to the high class works on Hindu mysticism which ordinarily seem to be texts on love poetry. (See author's *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, pp. 99-101.) The stanza (67) gives a glimpse of social life in ancient Tamil land. It was a custom with the ancient Tamils, and this is current even now, to watch the moon rising on the second day after the new moon day. This seeing of the moon is religious in character and tantamount to the worship of the moon. The maid waiting on the lady love, innocent of the fact that her mistress had already enjoyed, though secretly, her husband's company, urges her to come out and pay her respects to the moon. But the mistress refuses to worship the deity, thus giving a sure hint that she had her own husband, who is to her all god. Incidentally we are introduced to a great truth and its practice in the Tamil land that chaste women do not worship any god except their own husbands, whom they worship as their god. It may be well to bear in mind that this was the great maxim taught by Tiruvaḷḷuvar in his thought-provoking treatise the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (see the *kuṟaḷveṇba*, 55).

To return to the subject proper, the lunar cult was known in early Tamil India, as well as in Vedic India. There were temples dedicated to that deity, though such instances have become extinct. The worship of the moon as a planet, as a *digpâla* and as the lord of the vegetable kingdom is still largely prevalent.

MISCELLANEA.

IMPORTANT FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FOUND AT MAHASTHAN (BOGRA DISTRICT).

(The following note on the Mauryan Brâhmî inscription recently found at Mahâsthân in the Bogra district was read by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar at the Symposium of the Asiatic Society of Bengal held on the 2nd January 1933.)

This fragmentary but most interesting inscription in Mauryan Brâhmî was discovered, on the 31st of November 1931, by one Baru Faqîr of the Mahâsthângaṛh village in the Bogra district of Bengal, not far from a mound which was being excavated by the Archæological Department.

The fragment, as it is, contains six lines of writing in the Brâhmî Alphabet of the Aśokan records. The language is the same as that of his Pillar Edicts, that is to say, it was the language of Madhyadeśa influenced by Mâgadhî, or rather the court language of Magadha. The purport of the inscription is briefly as follows. Some ruler of the Mauryan period, whose name is lost, had issued an order to the Mahâmâtra stationed at Puṇḍranagara, with a view to relieve the distress caused apparently by famine to a people called Saṁvaṁgîyas, who were settled in and about the town. Two measures were adopted to meet this contingency. The first apparently consisted of the advance of a loan in *gaṇḍaka* currency, and the second of the distribution of *dhânya*, or paddy, from the district granary. A wish is expressed that the Saṁvaṁgîyas will thus be able to tide over the calamity. With the restoration of plenty they were asked to return the money to the Treasury and the grain to the Granary.

It will be seen that this epigraphic record is of great historical importance. In the first place, it establishes the identity of the present Mahâsthân with the ancient Puṇḍranagara. The last line of the inscription clearly shows that it was fixed into the structure of a Granary which could not have been far from the place where the stone plaque was found. The Granary was thus situated in the present area of Mahâsthân. And as the Granary originally belonged to Puṇḍranagara, there can be no doubt as to Mahâsthân being identical with Puṇḍranagara. Cunningham, with his topographical instincts, had long ago identified the two on the evidence of the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang. But his identification had remained more or less uncertain for want of epigraphic evidence. But the find of our record now leaves no doubt on this point.

The second point of historical interest that we have to note is the manner in which the state in ancient India endeavoured to combat the ravages of a famine. Mention is made in this inscription of the distribution of *dhânya*, or unhusked rice. This paddy obviously must have been used as seed for sowing operations, and, also when husked, must have served the purpose of food. It may, however, be asked : why money was at all distributed among the Saṁvaṁgîyas ? In this connection we have to remember that in East Bengal, where nature is so plentiful, a famine can take place only through the inundation of a river. Mahâsthân, that is, Puṇḍranagara, is situated on a river, namely, the Karatoyâ. And when a town is settled on a river, the floods cause devastation not simply to the crops in the fields, but also to the buildings and huts which are perched on its border. To meet this contingency, a money grant has to be made to the people whose belongings have been washed away or seriously affected by the floods. This is perhaps the only explanation that can be given of the disbursement of *gaṇḍaka* coins among the Saṁvaṁgîyas. What again we have to note here is that this disbursement of money and this distribution of unhusked rice were made to this people without any interest. If they had been charged with any, surely there would have been some reference to it in our record.

Perhaps ours is not the first known inscription which relates to the putting up of a granary as a safeguard against scarcity of food. Of practically the same period is an inscribed copper-plate found at Sohagaura, about fourteen miles south-east from Gorakhpur (*I.A.*, XXV, 261 f.). A cursory glance at its contents will convince anybody that it refers not to one but to two granaries, and that this plate is an order to some Mahâmâtra, stationed apparently at Śrâvasti, to open the two granaries and distribute their contents when any dire contingency called for it. In fact, the idea of counteracting the ravages of a famine by the erection of granaries and storehouses is pretty ancient in India, and it is not therefore a matter of surprise if the Mahâsthân inscription also adverts to the measures commonly employed by the State to combat the devastation caused by a famine in ancient Bengal.

Let us now see what further light our record throws on the ancient history of Bengal. It is a pity that the first line of the inscription has not been preserved. The name of the ruler, if any was mentioned, is thus lost irretrievably. But as the alphabet and the language of our record are exactly like those of the Aśokan edicts, it is not impossible that he was a prince of the Mauryan dynasty. We have already seen that the language of this epigraph is the language of Madhyadeśa influenced by Mâgadhî. It was really the language of the Mauryan Court in Magadha, which, owing to its outgrowing imperialism, had spread not only over the whole of Madhyadeśa but also over parts conterminous with it. In fact, it had become the *lingua franca* of almost the whole of North India. We now see definitely that this *lingua franca* had spread even to Bengal and was in vogue there as early as the fourth century B.C. as our inscription conclusively proves

it. It is true that Brâhmanism took a long long time to spread over Bengal. The Aryan culture seems for the first time to have been disseminated in ancient Bengal by the Jainas. It is curious to note that while Bihâr and Kosala were taken by Buddha and his adherents Bengal was selected by Mahâvîra and his followers for their proselytising activities. It is true that no traces of this original Jainism are now left in Bengal. But even as late as the middle of the seventh century A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang testifies to the Nirgrantha Jainas being numerous in Puṇḍravardhana (*Ann. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XII, 104 f.). Only the other day a copper-plate charter was discovered during excavations at Pahâṛpur in Bengal, dated G.E. 159=477 A.D., which registers a grant for the worship of Arhats at a *vihâra* situated not far from this place and presided over by the disciples of the Nirgrantha preceptor Guhanandin (*E.I.*, XX, 61 f.). No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to Jainism and especially Nirgranthism, having been prevalent in Bengal up till the seventh century A.D. This at the most may explain the employment of the Brâhmî alphabet in our inscription, but the use of the court language of Pâṭaliputra is a clear indication of Bengal, at any rate North Bengal, being included in the Mauryan dominions.

The last point of historical interest that we have now to consider is: who were the Saṁvaṁgîyas, supposing that was the name really intended. Saṁvaṁgîyas in the first place remind us of Saṁvajjîs. We know that to the account of *Fu-li-chih* (=Vṛiji) by Yuan Chwang a note is added by the commentator, saying that "*Fu-li-chi* was in 'North India,' and that the north people called it the *Sam-fa-chih* (or Saṁvajji) (Watters, vol. II, p. 81). On this point Beal makes the following pertinent comment: "The country of the Vṛijjis or Saṁvṛijjis, i.e., united Vṛijjis, was that of the confederated eight tribes of the people called the Vṛijjis or Vajjis, one of which, viz., that of the Lichchhavis, dwelt at Vaiśâli" (Beal, *Records*, vol. II, p. 77, n. 100). Just as the eight confederate clans, of whom the Vajjis were the most important, were called collectively the Saṁvajjis, or the united Vajjis, it is not at all unreasonable to conjecture that there were confederate clans in East Bengal who were similarly conglomerated under the collective term of Saṁvaṁgîyas. This shows that the most prominent of these at the beginning was the Vaṁgîyas, after whom the confederation was styled the Saṁvaṁgîyas, or the 'united Vaṁgîyas? The second point to be noted here is that the people of East Bengal are now called Vaṅgas, and it may now be asked where was the necessity of coining from it a name which is an obvious derivative from it, namely, Vaṁgîya. If we now turn to the *Vâyu* and *Matsya Purâṇas* and study the chapters dealing with *Bhuvana-vinyâsa*, we find that they mention the two allied clans, Pravaṅgas and Vaṅgêyas. But be it noted that none of them has been called Vaṅga. Secondly, the second of these names comes so close to the Vaṁgîya of our inscription that our inscription being earlier than any one of these *Purâṇas* and being a genuine record of the time, Vaṅgîya must doubtless be considered to be the original name and the reading Vaṅgêya of the *Purâṇas* thus becomes a corrupt form of it. Again, the fact that Pravaṅgas are coupled with Vaṅgîyas (wrongly called Vaṅgêyas) in these early *Purâṇas* shows that they were confederated clans and fell under the Saṁvaṁgîyas. And, further, the reference to the Saṁvaṁgîyas in connection with Puṇḍranagara goes to indicate that the Puṇḍras also belonged to the Saṁvaṁgîya confederacy. And just as in the time of the Buddha the capital of the Saṁvajji confederacy was Vesâli, which was the head-quarters, not of the Vajjis, but of the Lichchhavis who were then prominent, it seems that in the time of our inscription the capital of the Saṁvaṁgîyas was Puṇḍranagara, which was the head-quarters, not of the Vaṅgîyas, but of the Puṇḍras, after whom it was undoubtedly called Puṇḍranagara.

BOOK-NOTICES.

BUDDHIST LOGIC: Volume II. By TH. STCHERBATSKY. Bibliotheca Buddhica XXVI. 9×6 inches: pp. vi + 469. Academy of Sciences of the USSR: Leningrad, 1930.

Some thirty years have passed since Professor Stcherbatsky first began to write on the subject of Buddhist logic, and the two volumes of the present work, of which the second is the first to appear, contain the matured fruit of his researches during that long period. Here we have the materials on which the first volume, not yet in the reviewer's hands, is based, namely a translation into English of Dharmakîrti's *Nyâyabindu* and Dharmottara's commentary, accompanied by several appendices containing extracts on points of importance from Vâcaspati Miśra and others. The author, as is well known, believes firmly in the impossibility of translating Sanskrit philosophical treatises with any degree of literalness and in previous books he has paraphrased with the greatest freedom, but with results that were most decidedly open to criticism. For when strong views are held about contentious matters, it is difficult to be objective in paraphrasing and to avoid tendenciousness; the views colour the translation and give it a misleading effect. When also a text is not quite correctly apprehended, too free a rendering may result in something which bears no resemblance at all to the original. In the present work, however, he has successfully avoided these pitfalls and does so by keeping in fact much closer to the text than

he has been accustomed to do. The *Nyâyabindu* and its commentary is straightforward enough in appearance, but the exact significance of each term and argument is singularly difficult to grasp in its entirety and still more difficult, when grasped, to render accurately and intelligibly. Yet here an extraordinary measure of success has been attained; for this is undoubtedly far and away the best translation of any Sanskrit work on logic that we have, a veritable *tour de force*, when we remember that English is not the author's native language and that complete mastery of its idiomatic peculiarities is indispensable for a precise reproduction of the subtleties of the original. Even if occasionally there are lapses in grammar, they are no hindrance to understanding and an Englishman is the best person to bear witness to the high quality of the achievement. Much of the success, it should be added, attained in making Dharmakîrti's and Dharmottara's position comprehensible is due to the admirable notes, which bring out clearly the importance and originality of Buddhist logic by means of comparisons with modern German and English work in this domain.

In the absence of the first volume a discussion of general principles would be out of place, but in reviewing a book which will be read with the closest attention by specialists and which may be earnestly recommended to all students starting on the study of Indian logic, it is not otiose to indicate one or two points to which with diffidence I am inclined to take exception; with diffidence, not merely because it is a case of *impar congressus*, but also because in some cases disagreement may be due not to differences on matters of substance but to the failure of the translation to give exact effect to the intentions of Professor Stcherbatsky. I notice he is reluctant to admit that *artha* usually means simply the object to which *pratyakṣa* is directed, without any philosophical implications as to the nature or reality of the object; for instance text, p. 7, 12-13, is correctly given literally in a footnote, but the construction put upon it in the translation seems to me to go too far. Again in text, p. 6, 5 and 8, the two occurrences of *ekârthasamavetam*, which means something like 'associated with a single object,' is translated the first time 'as its implication,' and the second time 'inherent in the same object,' so putting a wrong complexion on the whole passage. Similarly the long and important discussion of negation in the chapter on *svârthânumâna* is very hard to follow, because a number of different translations are tried for *dṛśya* and *adṛśya*, in order to import the idea, which is quite irrelevant to Dharmottara's argument, that to a Vijñânavâdin *dṛśya* means, not something real, but something imagined. When the author finally abandons the attempt and settles down to the equivalent 'sensibilia,' he becomes intelligible again and gives us the precise effect of the text. The point I would make in referring to these passages is that Dharmakîrti and his commentator use ordinarily and of set purpose a vocabulary which would enable their theories to be professed either by realist or by idealist Buddhists. Each party could put their own construction on the language without impairing the force of the arguments, but I would hold that in certain cases the actual method used in the translation to force the views of one party, the idealists, into the text is open to criticism as befogging the issues and that a more straightforward rendering would have been more accurate and more comprehensible.

This may be illustrated by a point to which a more competent hand than mine (La Vallée Poussin, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, vol. I, 415) has drawn attention, Professor Stcherbatsky's translation of *sârûpya* by 'co-ordination' with the implications he draws therefrom. The term is confined almost entirely in this work to perception. This latter is divided into two distinct stages, firstly the action of the sense organ, which results in an exact reflection of the object, always here called *pratibhâsa*, and secondly, the action of *kalpanâ*, the constructive imagination, which constructs an image out of the reflection. This image is regularly called *âbhâsa* by which is indicated a lack of exactness or reality, its nature as a product of imagination; in the one passage (text, p. 8, 2) where *avabhâsa* is substituted for it the *va* is probably interpolated, so that we should read *ârthâbhâsâ*. In the text, p. 15, 8 ff., the image is described as the shape (*âkâra*) that the mind takes and thereby through the likeness (*sârûpya*) to the object the cognition of the object is completed (*arthapratîtisiddhi*); 'co-ordination' fails to express adequately this process, whose original purpose was to explain how cognition took place without actual contact between the mind, the sense organ and the object. Incidentally the theory of the reflection of the object cannot but strike one as possessing remarkable analogies with the classical Sâṁkhya theory of the action of *citi* in the *puruṣa*.

A minor matter is the translation of *mâtṛvivâhakramopadeśavat* (text, p. 2, 24) by '< that its aim was undesirable, > like the instruction about the ritual to be followed at the (re)-marriage ceremony of (one's own) mother'. Whether *krama* can mean ritual I need not discuss, but why 'one's own mother'? There are two alternatives, either by taking *mâtṛ* as equivalent to *mâtṛgrâma*, a common Buddhist term for 'women' generally, and understanding that widow marriage is entirely disapproved of, or, in view of the fact that the *Kâmasûtra's* section on the *punarbhû* proves the second marriages of women not to be uncommon or to be considered objectionable in certain circumstances, by translating *mâtṛ* as 'one who has borne children to her first husband' and inferring that remarriage was improper in such cases only.

But, taken all round, the translation is remarkably successful for its accurate reproduction of the

arguments of the original in intelligible form and constitutes a contribution to the subject of the highest importance, for which all of us, whether specialists in logic or general students, cannot but be deeply grateful to the Russian scholar.

E. H. J.

AN INTRODUCTION TO BUDDHIST ESOTERISM. By BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA. 10×7½ inches: pp. viii + 184. 12 plates. Oxford University Press, 1932.

Till recently it has been impossible to form any detailed idea of Buddhist Tantrism for want of original texts. The Baroda Oriental Institute has now published some of the most important in editions, which are readable but not up to the best standards of scholarship through failure to correct faulty MSS. by reference to the Tibetan translations and through omission to consult the few European publications on the subject. The obscurity of the wording is such that our knowledge has not been advanced as much as it should have been, and Dr. Bhattacharyya's brief sketch is accordingly welcome. To what extent does he lead us to modify our previous views? At the end he remarks, 'The Tantras should be regarded as the greatest contribution of India to world culture,' a statement at entire variance with the rest of his book, which tends to prove the exact opposite. It is in fact hard to disentangle from the curious farrago of which most Tantric works consist those elements which are original and important, nor does the author give us all the help he might. For he is evidently insufficiently acquainted with the results of recent research on the Vijñânavâda system, to which Buddhist Tantrism owes its philosophical framework, and I doubt the possibility of making definite assertions on points of doctrine till one of the leading treatises, preferably the *Guhyasamâja*, has been translated and explained to us in all its implications and double meanings in the light of the many commentaries extant in Tibetan.

Meanwhile, from what Dr. Bhattacharyya has to tell us, the main principles would seem to be (1) absolute submission to the guru, (2) belief in the possibility of attaining magic powers, (3) belief in salvation by the shortcut of such powers, (4) the release of aspirants and Yogins from all principles of morality. These magic powers are evidently closely connected with the phenomena of hypnotism, as appears from an excellent thesis just published by Dr. Lindquist (*Die Methoden des Yoga*, Lund, 1932); originally the practice of Yoga was undertaken to make the understanding of certain religious truths a part of the personality by the process of auto-suggestion, but what was once a means has developed in this school to an end in itself. Naturally there will be a difference of opinion between those who accept the claims of the Tantrists at their face value and those, the majority, who do not. Nothing in this book is likely to make the latter recede from their verdict that the Tantra cannot be held to have any real value as religion or philosophy and that in some aspects it is, as the author states in his preface, the product of diseased minds.

On one point we may be all agreed, that, whatever its other deficiencies, it did give rise to an art, which, if by no means of the front rank, has produced a body of work of definite æsthetic value, and Dr. Bhattacharyya's publications with their admirable illustrations have done much to bring this home to everyone.

E. H. J.

GEOGRAPHY OF EARLY BUDDHISM, by BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D. 9½×6 in.; xxi + 89 pp.; with sketch map. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1932. 3*s*. 6*d*.

This little volume, which contains a fairly complete collection of such geographical information as is to be found in the Pâli Buddhist texts, will be of use to research students, inasmuch as it furnishes carefully collated references to the texts in which the names are found. Students of Indian history and geography are constantly confronted with the difficulty—at times insuperable—of identifying the territorial divisions and sites mentioned in the old texts. The limits of countries (*deśa*) and other geographical divisions have altered from time to time, and their very names changed, while capitals have been transferred and sites abandoned for various reasons. Any evidence that will help to determine the geographical conditions at definite periods is, therefore, of value. Though we cannot find that any fresh identification of importance has been disclosed, we welcome this little compilation by one who has devoted so much time and labour to the furtherance of Buddhistic research. The sketch map, however, has not been prepared with sufficient care.

C. E. A. W. O.

O ORIENTE PORTUGUES, April, July and October, 1932.

We recently welcomed the revival of this journal, the organ of the Permanent Archæological Commission of Goa. The issues before us contain much that is of interest to local antiquarians. From the nature of the case, most of the matter is ecclesiastical, but in the wider field of Indian history we may notice the text of an agreement made in 1686 between the Viceroy and some rebellious vassals of Sambhâjî, and the exploration of a shrine of Śiva, which was destroyed in the eighteenth century, and which appears to date from the days when Goa was in the possession of Vijayanagar.

W. H. M.

THE MÂṆḌÛKYOPANIṢAD AND GAUḌAPÂDA.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

THE Mâṇḍûkya is one of the ten 'major' upaniṣads, the other nine being the Îśâvâsya, Kena, Kaṭha, Praśna, Muṇḍaka, Taittirîya, Aitareya, Chândogya and Bṛhadâraṇyaka. Though it is the shortest of the ten,[1] and in fact, of the hundred-and-eight upaniṣads, it is esteemed to be the best. Compare, for instance, Muktikopaniṣad I, 26-29 :

Mâṇḍûkyam ekam evâlaṃ mumukṣûṇâṃ vimuktaye || 26 ||
tathâpy asiddhaṃ cej jñânaṃ daśopaniṣadaṃ paṭha |
jñânaṃ labdhvâ 'cirâd eva mâmakaṃ dhâma yâsyasi || 27 ||
tathâpi dṛḍhatâ no ced vijñânasyâñjanâsuta |
dvâtriṃśâkhyopaniṣadaṃ samabhyasya nivartaya || 28 ||
videha-muktâv icchâ ced aṣṭottara-śataṃ paṭha |

"The Mâṇḍûkya alone is sufficient to lead aspirants to liberation. If even so (i.e., even after reading it), knowledge is not attained, read the ten upaniṣads ; you will then soon obtain knowledge and attain my abode. If even then, O son of Añjanâ,[2] there is no firmly-established knowledge, read again and again the thirty-two upaniṣads and return (to my abode). If there is desire for *videha-mukti* (liberation after leaving the body), read the hundred-and-eight upaniṣads."

The Mâṇḍûkya consists of but twelve sentences, and the first seven of them, in which the teaching of the upaniṣad may be said to be complete, are found with little or no variation in the *Nṛsiṃha-pûrva-tâpinî* (4, 2), *Nṛsiṃhottara-tâpinî*[3] (1) and *Râmottara-tâpinî* upaniṣads also, while the substance of their teaching is given, in the same words mostly, in the *Yogacûḍâmaṇi* (72 ff.) and *Nârada-parivrâjaka* (7, 3 ff.) upaniṣads.

The Mâṇḍûkya has, as is well known, 215 kârikâs or compendious verses attached to it, which form an appendix or supplement to it. These verses are grouped into four prakaraṇas or sections known as Âgama-prakaraṇa, Vaitathya-pra°, Advaita-pra°, and Alâtaśânti-pra°, which contain 29, 38, 48 and 100 verses respectively. The verses of the last three prakaraṇas are to be read one after the other regularly, but those of the first are not. They are interspersed among the sentences of the Mâṇḍûkya in the following manner : vss. 1-9 are interposed between sentences 6 and 7, vss. 10-18 between sentences 7 and 8, and vss. 19-23 between sentences 11 and 12, while vss. 27-29 follow sentence 12.

According to the opinion current among scholars of the Advaita school, the sentences of the Mâṇḍûkya alone are *śruti* (i.e., divine revelation), and all the 215 kârikâs are written by Gauḍapâda, the teacher of Govinda-bhagavatpâda, who was the teacher of Śrî Śaṅkarâcârya, the founder of the Advaita school. According to the scholars of the Dvaita school of Śrî Madhvâcârya (or Ânandatîrtha), however, the kârikâs of the last three sections only are to be attributed to Gauḍapâda, while those of the first prakaraṇa (which, as we have seen, are interspersed among the sentences of the Mâṇḍûkya) form an integral part of the Mâṇḍûkya Upaniṣad, and have thus the character of *śruti*.

It is my object in this paper to show that both these opinions are wrong. For, not only the 215 kârikâs, but the twelve sentences that comprise the Mâṇḍûkya also have been written by Gauḍapâda, as comes out clearly from Śaṅkara's commentary on the Mâṇḍûkya and GK :[4]

[1] The citations made in this paper from the ten major upaniṣads are based on the Ânandâśrama editions ; those from the other upaniṣads are based on the Nirṇayasâgara Press edition of the *Hundred and Eight Upaniṣads* published in 1913.

[2] i.e., Hanumân. The passage is addressed by Śrî-Râma to him.

[3] This upaniṣad contains, with many additions, the last five sentences also of the Mâṇḍûkya.

[4] i.e., Gauḍapâda-kârikâs.

(1) After two[5] benedictory stanzas, Śaṅkara begins the commentary proper with the following sentences :—

om ity etad akṣaram idaṃ sarvaṃ tasyopavyâkhyânam | vedântârtha-sâra-saṃgraha-bhûtam idaṃ prakaraṇa-catuṣṭayam om-ity-etad-akṣaram-ity-âdy ârabhyate | ata eva na pṛthak sambandhâbhidheya-prayojanâni vaktavyâni | yâny eva tu vedânte sambandhâbhidheya-prayojanâni tâny eveha bhavitum arhanti | ....tatra tâvad oṃ-kâra-nirṇayâya prathamaṃ prakaraṇam âgama-pradhânam âtmatattva-pratipatty-upâya-bhûtam | yasya dvaita-prapañcasyopaśame 'dvaita-pratipattî rajjvâm iva sarpâdi-vikalpopaśame rajjutattva-pratipattiḥ | tasya dvaitasya hetuto vaitathya-pratipâdanâya dvitîyaṃ prakaraṇam | tathâ 'dvaitasyâpi vaitathya-prasaṅga-prâptau yuktitas tathâtva-darśanâya tṛtîyaṃ prakaraṇam | advaitasya tathâtva-pratipatti-pratipakṣa-bhûtâni yâni vâdântarâṇy avaidikâni teṣâm anyonya-virodhitvâd atathârthatvena tad-upapattibhir eva nirâkaraṇâya caturthaṃ prakaraṇam |

He states clearly in the first two of these sentences (*a*) that the work that he is going to comment on begins with the words *om ity etad akṣaram idam....*, (*b*) that it consists of four sections, and (*c*) that the work with its four sections is an epitome of the teachings of the Vedânta. In the last five of the sentences cited, he states (1) that the first section explains the significance of the syllable *om* and the nature of the âtman, and consists mostly of propositions[6]; (2) that the second demonstrates with reasons the falseness of dualism ; (3) that the third shows with reasons the rightness of Advaita ; and (4) that the fourth shows how the very arguments, urged by opponents of Advaita belonging to non-Vedic schools, are mutually destructive and serve only to firmly establish Advaita.[7]

The words *om ity etad akṣaram....*cited by Śaṅkara form, as can be seen, the beginning of the Mâṇḍûkya ; and it hence becomes clear that, in Śaṅkara's opinion (1) the Âgama-prakaraṇa began with these words, and not with *atraite ślokâ bhavanti || bahiṣ-prajño vibhur viśvo....*as believed by present-day paṇḍits of the Advaita school, and (2) that all the four prakaraṇas have the same author. In other words, it is clear that the twelve sentences comprising the Mâṇḍûkya are, in the opinion of Śaṅkara, of the same nature as the verses which, with these sentences, form the Âgama-prakaraṇa, and that they have been written by the same person as wrote the 215 kârikâs.

(2) That the Âgama-prakaraṇa began with the words *om ity etad akṣaram....*, and that they were written by the author of the kârikâs is, further, made plain by two observations of Ânandagiri. When explaining GK. IV. 1. Ânandagiri writes : *âdy-anta-madhya-maṅgalâ granthâḥ pracâriṇo bhavantîty abhipretya âdâv oṃ-kâroccâraṇavad ante para-devatâ-praṇâmavan madhye'pi para-devatâ-rûpam upadeṣṭâraṃ praṇamati.* The words *âdâv oṃ-kâroccâraṇavat* used here refer to the *om* that stands at the beginning of Mâṇḍûkya : *om ity etad akṣaram idam.....*Similarly, when explaining the second stanza, *yo viśvâtmâ vidhija-viṣayân....*that occurs in the beginning of Śaṅkara's commentary, Ânandagiri observes : *anye tv âdya-ślokaṃ mûla-ślokântarbhûtam abhyupagacchanto dvitîya-ślokaṃ bhâṣyakâra-praṇîtam abhyupayanti | tad asat | uttara-ślokeṣv iva âdye'pi śloke bhâṣyakṛto vyâkhyâna-praṇayana-prasaṅgât | om ity etad akṣaram ity-âdi-bhâṣya-virodhâc ca.*

Ânandagiri's reference here to 'other' commentators (*ṭîkâkâra*) who looked upon the first benedictory stanza, *prajñânâṃśu-pratânaiḥ sthira-cara-nikara-vyâpibhiḥ.....*as 'belonging to the original,' and regarded the second stanza only as written by Śaṅkara, is of much interest in this connection. This first stanza is plainly benedictory in character, and strikes

[5] This is according to the opinion of Ânandagiri. He has himself however reported in his *ṭîkâ* on Śaṅkara's *bhâṣya* that there were some *ṭîkâkâras* among his predecessors who thought that Śaṅkara wrote one benedictory stanza only.

[6] i.e., mere statements unaccompanied by reasons proving them.

[7] And he thus indicates that the work with its four sections is a unity conceived and executed according to a well-arranged plan.

a personal note with its ' I bow to Brahman ' ; and since none of the hundred-and-eight upaniṣads, with the exception of one,[8] begins with any benedictory verse, it is clear that the ' other ' commentators also, referred to by Ânandagiri, must have held the opinion that the work before them, begnning with *prajñânâṃśu-pratânaiḥ*, containing the sentence *om ity etad akṣaram idam....*, and ending with *namaskurmo yathâ-balam* [GK. IV. 100d] was wholly written by Gauḍapâda. In other words, these commentators must have believed that the twelve sentences that are now regarded as comprising the Mâṇḍûkya Upaniṣad formed part of the Âgama-prakaraṇa which was written by Gauḍapâda (and which began with the stanza *prajñânâṃśu-pratânaiḥ*).

Parenthetically, I may observe that Ânandagiri's objections against the first stanza forming part of the original work are not unanswerable. For, it is possible that it did really stand at the beginning of Gauḍapâda's work and that Śaṅkara began his commentary with the explanation of the words of the work proper (i.e., of the sentence *om ity etad akṣaram idam. ....*) not thinking it worth while to explain the benedictory verse. His statement that the words *om ity etad akṣaram....* mark the beginning of the work would not be incorrect, as the work proper really begins with these words. And then there would be no need to search for an explanation (that given by Ânandagiri, as also the two mentioned by him as given by other commentators is not very satisfactory) as to why Śaṅkara wrote *two* benedictory stanzas having the same meaning. Moreover the stanza *prajñânâṃśupratânaiḥ....* faithfully reflects the opinions of Gauḍapâda, is just the one that he would write if he wanted to, and is in all respects well suited to stand at the beginning of Gauḍapâda's work.[9]

(3) That all the four sections are written by the same author, and that the first section includes the twelve prose sentences (now known as the Mâṇḍûkya Upan.) as an integral part, is made plain by the cross-references also that Śaṅkara makes in his commentary. Thus, in his commentary on GK. I, 6, he observes, " Similarly the author[10] writes below *vandhyâ-putro na jânâti* " and refers to GK. III. 28cd. In his commentary on sentence 12 in the Âgama-prakaraṇa, he observes, " Similarly, the author writes below, *âśramâs trividhâ hînâḥ* [=GK. III. 16]." While explaining GK. II. 1, he writes, " It has been said above, *jñâte dvaitaṃ na vidyate* (=I. 18] " ; similarly, in his commentary on GK. III. 1, he writes, " The (result of the) full comprehension of the significance of the syllable *om* has been declared above in the statements *prapañcopaśamaḥ śivo 'dvaita..âtmâ* (=sentence 12] and *jñâte dvaitaṃ na vidyate*." The latter passage is referred to again by Śaṅkara in his commentary on GK. IV, 73, where he has observed, " It has already been stated above, *jñâte dvaitaṃ na vidyate*."

It will be noticed that in the words cited above from Śaṅkara's commentary on GK. III, 1, he makes no distinction between sentence 12 and GK. I, 16. Similarly it can be seen from the words, " Thus the author has said below, *jñâte dvaitaṃ na vidyate*," that occur in his commentary on sentence 7, that he makes no distinction between the verses and prose sentences of the first section, but holds them to be the writing of the same author. These cross-references thus show that Śaṅkara holds that the verses in GK. II–III, and also the verses and prose sentences in the Âgama-prakaraṇa, are written by the same author.

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8 The Nirâlambopaniṣad ; but there is no personal note in its benedictory stanza which reads, *namaś Śivâya gurave sac-cid-ânanda-mûrtaye | niṣprapañcâya śântâya nirâlambâya tejase.*

9 For it indicates what the subject-matter, purpose, relation, etc., of the book are. Compare in this connection Ânandagiri's observation : *arthâd apekṣitam abhidheyâdy-anubandham api sûcayati.*

10 There is no word in the original that corresponds to 'author.' Śaṅkara merely uses the verb *âah*, leaving the subject to be understood. We can supply the word *śrutiḥ* as subject if we like (one has to do so frequently in similar circumstances in Śaṅkara's commentaries on the *Îśâvâsya* and other upaniṣads) or the word *âcâryaḥ* (teacher), *granthakartâ* (author), or similar word. For the reasons shown, we cannot supply the word *śrutiḥ*, and I have therefore supplied the word ' author ' as subject.

(4) Who this author was, is made plain by the following verse which is found at the end of Śaṅkara's commentary on GK. :

prajñā-vaiśâkha-vedha-kṣubhita-jalanidher veda-nâmno 'ntarastham
bhûtâny âlokya magnâny avirata-janana-grâha-ghore samudre |
kâruṇyâd uddadhârâmṛtam idam amarair durlabhaṃ bhûtahetor
yas taṃ pûjyâbhipûjyaṃ parama-gurum amuṃ pâda-pâtair nato 'smi ||

" I bow and prostrate myself many times at the feet of my grand-teacher,[11] that one who is adorable among the adorable, and who, seeing the world sinking in the ocean that is terrible with the crocodile of unceasing birth, out of compassion for it, extracted from the ocean named Veda, by churning it with the churning-stick of his discernment, this nectar (i.e., this work) which is unobtainable by gods."

We know from other sources[12] that this grand-teacher was Gauḍapâda ; and since the Veda, like the ocean, is fourfold (consisting, as it does, of the Ṛk, Yajus, Sâman and Atharvan), it is indicated in this stanza that its essence, too, which Gauḍapâda extracted, is a four-sectioned work. In other words, this stanza too indicates that Gauḍapâda was the author, not only of prakaraṇas II-IV, but of the Âgama-prakaraṇa also.

(5) The fact that Śaṅkara regards the prose sentences and also the verses that comprise the Âgama-prakaraṇa as the work of Gauḍapâda, is sufficient by itself to show that he did not regard them as *śruti*. This is made plain by the word *prakaraṇa* also which he has used in the sentence *vedântârtha-sâra-saṃgraha-bhûtam idaṃ prakaraṇa-catuṣṭayam om-ity-etad-akṣaram-ity-âdy ârabhyate* which has been cited in (1) above. The significance of this word is well brought out in the following explanation[13] given by Ânandagiri : " The commentator explains his object with the words *vedânta*....Is the work that he is going to comment upon a *śâstra* or a *prakaraṇa* ? It is not the first : for it does not deal thoroughly with all the matters that appertain to the subject treated of. It deals with one matter only, and is therefore a *prakaraṇa*."

This discussion about *śâstra* and *prakaraṇa* and about the propriety of classifying the work in question under either of these two heads is very significant. It shows unmistakably that the work in question is written by a human author and is not a *śruti* text. *Śruti* texts are supreme and stand above all classification ; and it would be regarded as sacrilege were one to examine a *śruti* text and declare in what particulars it satisfied, and in what other particulars it failed to satisfy, the definition of a *śâstra* or *prakaraṇa* ; [14] compare the maxim,

11 Or 'great teacher' *parama-guru* means 'grand-teacher' and also 'great teacher.'

12 Works like Vidyâraṇya's *Śaṅkara-dig-vijaya*. According to these books, the line of succession is as follows :—Vyâsa, Suka, Gauḍapâda, Govinda-bhagavat-pâda, Śaṅkara. Each was the immediate teacher of the one next mentioned, and the immediate disciple or pupil of the one previously mentioned. Gauḍapâda was thus the immediate pupil of Śuka, and the immediate teacher of Govinda-bhagavat-pâda. This succession-list seems to me to be dubious ; the more so, since, according to the above-named work (5, 94 ff.), Govinda-bhagavatpâda is identical with Patañjali, author of the *Mahâbhâṣya* ; and hence I do not feel sure that Gauḍapâda was the grand-teacher of Śaṅkara. Prof. Winternitz, on the other hand, has observed (*Geschichte der ind. Litteratur* III, 430, n. 3) that 'the order of succession—Gauḍapâda, Govinda, Śaṅkara—is above suspicion.'

13 *kim idaṃ śâstratvena vâ prakaraṇatvena vâ vyâcikhyâsitam | nâdyaḥ | śâstra-lakṣaṇâbhâvâd asya aśâstratvât | eka-prayojanopanibaddham aśeṣârtha-pratipâdakaṃ hi śâstram | atra ca mokṣa-lakṣaṇaika-prayojanavattve'pi nâśeṣârtha-pratipâdakatvam | na dvitîyaḥ | prakaraṇa-lakṣaṇâbhâvâd ity âśaṅkyâha vedânteti | śâstraṃ vedânta-śabdârthaḥ | tasyârtho 'dhikâri-nirṇaya-gurûpasadana-padârtha-dvaya-tadaikya-virodha-parihâra-sâdhana-phalâkhyaḥ | tatra sâro jîva-paraikyaṃ | tasya samyag-grahaḥ saṃgrahaḥ saṃśaya-viparyâsâdi-pratibandha-vyudâsena tad-upâyopadeśo yasmin prakaraṇe tat tatheti yâvat | tathâ ca śâstraikadeśa-saṃbaddhaṃ śâstra-kâryântare sthitam idaṃ prakaraṇatvena vyâkhyâtum iṣṭam nirguṇa-vastu-mâtra-pratipâdakatvât | tat-pratipâdana-saṃkṣepasya ca kâryântara-tvât prakaraṇatva-lakṣaṇasya câtra sampûrṇatvâd ity arthaḥ |*

14 Nor is it necessary that one should first explain one's reasons in setting forth to write a commentary on a *śruti* text. As explained by Sâyaṇa at great length in the introduction to his commentary on the *Ṛgveda-saṃhitâ*, it is the duty of every *dvija* (twice-born one) to learn the Veda *with its meaning* ; and hence one needs no apology for writing a commentary on the Veda.

niyoga-paryanuyogânarhâ bhagavatî śrutiḥ. Śaṅkara, assuredly, would not be guilty of such sacrilege; and his carefully-chosen words therefore make it plain that the four-sectioned book that he is going to comment upon is not a *śruti* text, but the work of a human author.

Compare in this connection the sentences *tad idaṃ Gîtâśâstraṃ samastavedârtha-sâra-saṃgraha-bhûtam* and *vedânta-mîmâṃsâ-śâstrasya vyâcikhyâsitasyedam âdimaṃ sûtram* that occur in the introductions to Śaṅkara's commentaries on the *Bhagavad-gîtâ* and *Brahma-sûtras* respectively; and note the use of the word *śâstra* in both sentences and that both these books are written by human authors (i.e., are not *śruti*). Contrast, on the other hand, the introductions to Śaṅkara's commentaries on the nine 'major' Upaniṣads, and note that in not one of them is the word *śâstra* or *prakaraṇa* used.

It must be observed, however, that Ânandagiri interprets the word *prakaraṇa-catuṣṭayam* in Śaṅkara's above-cited sentence as *prakaraṇa-catuṣṭaya-viśiṣṭam*. That is to say, he dissociates the epithet *om-ity-etad-akṣaram-ity-âdi* (after which, according to him, we have to supply the words *Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣad-âtmakaṃ vâkya-dvâdaśakam*, or other similar words) from *prakaraṇa-catuṣṭayam* (to which it plainly belongs), and wants us to understand that the discussion about *śâstra* and *prakaraṇa* is concerned with the four sections of Gauḍapâda's *kârikâs* and has nothing to do with the Upaniṣad which begins with the words *om ity etad akṣaram*.

But Śaṅkara's words are quite unequivocal, and the word *om-ity-etad-akṣaram-ity-âdi* is plainly an epithet of *prakaraṇa-catuṣṭayam*. If, as Ânandagiri implies, Śaṅkara had used it with reference to the 'Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣad,' he would without doubt have said *om-ity-etad-akṣaram-ity-âdyâ Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣad*, as, for instance, has been said by Nârâyaṇâśramin (see below); and hence Ânandagiri's explanation is tantamount to saying that Śaṅkara is a clumsy writer and does not know how to write properly.

The fact is, Ânandagiri is one of those that believe (see below) that the Mâṇḍûkya is an upaniṣad or *śruti*: and since the above-cited words of Śaṅkara indicate only too plainly that it is not a *śruti*, he tries, by means of the above explanation, to reconcile these words with his belief.

The explanation, however, is patently clumsy and can convince no one; it only shows up in greater relief the sharp difference between Śaṅkara and Ânandagiri, and also bears testimony that the above-cited words of Śaṅkara indicate unmistakably in the opinion of Ânandagiri too that the work beginning with the words *om ity etad akṣaram*....is not *śruti*.

(6) That neither the prose sentences nor the verses that comprise the *Âgama-prakaraṇa* were regarded by Śaṅkara as *śruti* is made plain, further, by some other considerations also that are based on his works, that is, on his commentaries on the nine 'major' Upaniṣads, the Bhagavad-gîtâ and the Brahmasûtras: for I follow the general consensus of opinion in believing that these are the only undoubtedly genuine works of Śaṅkara.

(*a*) In the course of his commentary on the Brahma-sûtras, Śaṅkara has had occasion to make hundreds of citations from *śruti* texts including the Ṛgveda-saṃhitâ, Taittirîya-saṃhitâ, Vâjasaneya-saṃhitâ, Aitareya-brâhmaṇa, Śatapatha-brâhmaṇa, etc., and the upaniṣads. He has made numerous citations especially from the upaniṣads, not only from the 'nine major' ones (i.e., Iśâvâsya, Kena, Kaṭha, Praśna, Muṇḍaka, Taittirîya, Aitareya, Chândogya and Bṛhad-âraṇyaka), but also from the Śvetâśvatara and Kauṣîtaki upaniṣads. Even the Jâbâlopaniṣad is cited by him more than once; but the Mâṇḍûkya is not quoted even once, nor is the name Mâṇḍûkya mentioned by him even once. See in this connection Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishads des Veda* (1905), p. 574: "It is remarkable that Śaṅkara has not made any use of the Mâṇḍûkya Upaniṣad in his commentary on the Brahma-sûtras"; see also the index of quotations given at the end of vol. 38, *SBE* (Trans. of Śaṅkara's above-named commentary).

This observation holds good of Śaṅkara's commentaries on the nine 'major' upaniṣads and the Bhagavad-gîtâ also ; in these commentaries, too, Śaṅkara has quoted freely from the *śruti* texts, especially from the nine 'major' upaniṣads named above, and the Śvetâśvatara and Kauṣîtaki upaniṣads. He has not cited even one single passage from the Mâṇḍûkya.

The objection that the Mâṇḍûkya is a very short upaniṣad dealing only with the letter *om* and its *mâtrâs*, and that hence there was no occasion in which Śaṅkara could, with propriety, quote passages from this upaniṣad. is not tenable. The Îśâvâsya Upaniṣad too is almost as short as the Mâṇḍûkya : and yet Śaṅkara has cited passages from it on scores of occasions. Similarly, though the Mâṇḍûkya deals only with the letter *om* and its *mâtrâs*, there are occasions when citations from it would be quite apposite. Thus, for instance, in the his commentary on the Vaiśvânarâdhikaraṇa (1. 2. 24 f.). Śaṅkara has cited three passages—one from the Chândogya and two from the Ṛgveda-saṃhitâ, to illustrate his statement that the word *vaiśvânara* is used in the Veda in different senses. Now this word is used in the Mâṇḍûkya (3), and there can be no doubt that a citation of this passage would be quite apposite in this connection. Similarly, there are passages in the Chândogya, Bṛhad-âraṇyaka and other major upaniṣads which treat of the letter *om* and with the *jâgrat*, *svapna* and *suṣupti* conditions, and in explaining which, citations from the Mâṇḍûkya would therefore be quite appropriate.

One should contrast with these Śaṅkara's commentary on the Mâṇḍûkya and note how he has cited from the Chândogya, Bṛhad-âraṇyaka and other major upaniṣads many passages parallel to those he is explaining.

The fact then that Śaṅkara has not cited any passage from the Mâṇḍûkya in his other works or even mentioned the name Mâṇḍûkya, shows quite plainly that he did not look upon the Mâṇḍûkya as a *śruti* text.

(*b*) This is shown, further, by a comparison of Śaṅkara's introduction to his commentary on the Mâṇḍûkya and GK with the introductions to his commentaries on the nine major upaniṣads. In the case of these upaniṣads, Śaṅkara has, it will be seen, used the words *śrutiḥ*, *upaniṣad*, *mantra* or *brâhmaṇa*[15] and thus indicated that he looked upon these texts as *śruti* ; but there is not one word found, either in the beginning or elsewhere, in his commentary on the Mâṇḍûkya and GK that would even remotely indicate that he looked upon it as a *śruti* text.

(*c*) On the other hand, it is very significant that Śaṅkara has, in the latter, often cited *śruti* texts, not as mere parallel passages, but as authorities for the statements made. Thus, for instance, when explaining the word *ânanda-bhuk* in Mâṇḍûkya 5, Śaṅkara writes, *eṣo'sya parama ânanda iti śruteḥ* ; in explaining *sarveśvaraḥ* in 6, he writes *prâṇa-bandhanaṃ hi somya mana iti śruteḥ* ; in explaining *dakṣiṇâkṣi-mukhe viśvo* in GK. 2, he writes, *indho ha vai nâmaiṣa yo'yaṃ dakṣiṇe'kṣan puruṣa iti śruteḥ* ; in explaining *sarvaṃ janayati prâṇaś cetoṃśûn puruṣaḥ pṛthak* in GK 6, he writes, *yathorṇanâbhiḥ yathâ'gner visphuliṅgâ ity-âdi-śruteḥ* ; in explaining *ekâtma pratyaya-sâram* in 7, he writes, *âtmetyevopâsîta iti śruteḥ* ; and in explaining *turyaṃ tat sarva-dṛk sadâ* in GK. 12, he writes, *na hi draṣṭur dṛṣṭer viparilopo vidyata iti śruteḥ. . . . nânyad ato'sti draṣṭṛ ity-âdi-śruteḥ*.[16] In all these instances, it will be noted, Śaṅkara has cited the respective *śruti* passages as authorities on which are based the statements contained in the Mâṇḍûkya and GK. I. If he had regarded these as *śruti*, then these statements

[15] Of these words, *śruti* is a generic name and is synonymous with Veda ; *mantra* and *brâhmaṇa* denote the two subdivisions of the Veda (compare Âpastamba-śrauta-sûtra, 24. 1. 31 : *mantra-brâhmaṇayor veda-nâmadheyam*), while the word *upaniṣad* is applied to some select portions of the Veda that deal, not with ritual but with the knowledge of Brahman. That Śaṅkara understood by this word a part of the Veda, is made plain by the discussion in his commentary on *Mundaka* 1.1.5.

[16] The *śruti* passages cited here by Śaṅkara are, respectively, Bṛh. 4. 3. 32 ; Chân. 6. 8. 2 ; Bṛh. 4.2.2 ; 1. 4. 10 ; 1 1 17 2.1.20 1.1.7 4.3.23 and 3.8.11.

themselves would have been authoritative, and there would have been no necessity to establish that they are based on *śruti* texts and are therefore to be accepted.

In the introductory portion of his commentary, when speaking of the *prayojana* (aim), Śaṅkara writes: ***advaita-bhâvaḥ prayojanam | dvaita-prapañcasyâvidyâ-kṛtatvâd vidyayâ tad-upaśamaḥ syâd iti brahma-vidyâ-prakâśanâyâsyârambhaḥ kriyate | "yatra hi dvaitam iva bhavati," "yatra vânyad iva syât tatrânyo 'nyat paśyed anyo 'nyad vijânîyât," "yatra tv asya sarvam âtmaivâbhût tat kena kaṃ paśyet kena kaṃ vijânîyâd" ity-âdi-śrutibhyo 'syârthasya siddhiḥ.*** He says in this passage (1) that the end desired is *advaita*: (2) that *dvaita* (dualism) is the result of *avidyâ* or wrong knowledge and disappears in the light of *vidyâ*: (3) that the work in question treats of this *vidyâ*; and (4) that, hence, when wrong knowledge and its result *dvaita* disappear, *advaita* will be perceived as said in the *śruti* passages *yatra hi*....and other similar ones. The *śruti* passages cited here by Śaṅkara are Bṛh. Up. 2. 4. 14 (or 4. 5. 15); 4. 3. 31 and 4. 5. 15; and the word *advaita* occurs in the continuation of 4. 3. 31 (i.e., in 4. 3. 32).[17]

Now, the same thing is said in Mâṇḍûkya 12 also; and the fact that Śaṅkara has not referred to it in this connection shows that he did not look upon it as *śruti*. If he had regarded it as *śruti*, he would surely have mentioned it here and not had recourse to the Bṛh. Up. for an appropriate *śruti* passage.

Similarly, in the next paragraph but one, Śaṅkara asks himself the question, 'How does the understanding of the syllable *om* lead one to a knowledge of the *âtman*?' and answers: 'It is so said in *om ity etat | etad âlambanam, etad vai Satyakâma, om ity âtmânaṃ yuñjîta, om iti Brahma, om-kâra evedaṃ sarvam* and other similar *śruti* texts.'[18] The same thing is said in Mâṇḍûkya 1: *om ity etad akṣaram idaṃ sarvam*....also; and the fact that Śaṅkara did not include it among those cited shows that he did not regard it as *śruti*.

(*d*) In the course of his commentary on the Brahma-sûtras, Śaṅkara has had occasion to cite a kârikâ from the Âgamaprakaraṇa (Vs. 16: *anâdi-mâyayâ supto yadâ jîvaḥ prabudhyate | ajam anidram asvapnam advaitaṃ budhyate tadâ*) when explaining 2. 1. 9. He does not say there that it is *śruti*, but introduces it with the words *atroktaṃ vedântârtha-sampradâya-vidbhir âcâryaiḥ*, and thus distinctly says that the verse in question was written by a human author. Compare his commentary on 1. 4. 14, where he cites GK. III. 15 (*mṛl-loha-visphuliṅgâdyaiḥ*....), introducing it with the words *tathâ ca sampradâya-vido vadanti*. A comparison of the two introductory sentences shows that Śaṅkara made no distinction between the kârikâs in the first and third prakaraṇas, but looked on both as the work of a human author.[19]

II. The considerations set forth above thus make it plain beyond possibility of doubt that Śaṅkara regarded the Mâṇḍûkya and the 215 kârikâs as the work of the same human author. But, it may be objected here, Śaṅkara, after all, is but one of the many

[17] 4.3.31-2 read as follows: *yatra vâ 'nyad iva syât tatrânyo 'nyat paśyed anyo 'nyaj jighred anyo 'nyad rasayed anyo 'nyad vaded anyo 'nyac chṛṇuyâd anyo 'nyan manvîtânyo 'nyat spṛśed anyo 'nyad vijânîyâd | salila eko draṣṭâ 'dvaito bhavaty eṣa brahma-lokaḥ samrâṭ*.....And it is this word *advaita* that has been repeated by Śaṅkara in the sentence *advaita-bhâvaḥ prayojanam* cited above and later on in the sentence *advaitam iti śruti-kṛto viśeṣo na syât* that occurs in his commentary on GK. I. 3.

[18] The passages cited here are, respectively, Kaṭha 2.15-17; Praśna 5.2; Mahânârâyaṇa 24.1; Taitt. Up. 1.8.1; and Chân. 2.23.4.

[19] The words *atraite ślokâ bhavanti* occur four times in the Âgama-prakaraṇa when introducing the kârikâs; and Śaṅkara in his commentary too uses the same word (*śloka*) when referring to them. See pp. 25-1, 26-2, and 32-1 (the figures refer to the pages and lines *of the commentary* in the second Ânandâśrama edition of 1900), and compare also his observation *prâṇâdi-ślokânâṃ pratyekaṃ padârtha-vyâkhyâne*....on p. 88 in connection with some kârikâs in GK. II. In the commentaries on the nine major upaniṣads, however, Śaṅkara usually paraphrases *śloka* by the word *mantra*; and the fact that he has not done so even once in his commentary on the Âgama-prakaraṇa is, it seems to me, a further proof that he did not look upon either the Mâṇḍûkya or the kârikâs contained in that *prakaraṇa* as *śruti*.

commentators on the Mâṇḍûkya whom we know of; and though his testimony deserves credit, it is overwhelmed by that of the other commentators who have all said plainly that the Mâṇḍûkya is a *śruti* text (while even Śaṅkara has nowhere said in so many words that the Mâṇḍûkya is *not* a *śruti* text). Thus Madhvâcârya writes in the course of his commentary *iti maṇḍûka-rûpî san dadarśa Varuṇaḥ śrutim*; and Kûranârâyaṇa begins his commentary with the words *mumukṣor adhikâriṇo nikhila-kleśa-nivṛtti-pûrvakaṃ paramânandâvâptaye samasta-vyasta-praṇava-pratipâdya-bhagavad-upâsanâṃ vaktuṃ pravṛtteyam upaniṣad.* Nârâyaṇâśramin too begins his commentary with the following words: *om-ity-etad-akṣaram-idaṃ-sarvam-ity-âdyâ Mâṇḍûkyopanisac catuḥ-khaṇḍâ | tâṃ khaṇḍaśaḥ paṭhitvâ 'traite ślokâ bhavantîti catuḥ-paryâyair Gauḍapâdâcâryâ Nârâyaṇânugraheṇa śloka-racanayâ vyâcacakṣire | tena śruti-tad-vyâkhyâ-ghaṭitaṃ prathamaṃ prakaraṇaṃ śruti-prâyam eveti tatra chândasânâm upaniṣad-vyavahâraḥ pravṛttaḥ | evaṃ tad-vicârâtmaka-prakaraṇa-traye 'pi | vedântârtha-sâra-saṃgraha-bhûtam idaṃ prakaraṇa-catuṣṭayam | ata eva na pṛthak saṃbandhâbhidheya-prayojanâni vaktavyâni* |[20]

Similarly, Śaṅkarânanda writes *Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣad-vyâkhyâṃ kariṣye pada-câriṇîm* in the beginning of his commentary; and Ânandagiri himself, in his *ṭîkâ* on Śaṅkara's commentary on the Mâṇḍûkya, refers to it as upaniṣad or *śruti* on many occasions. Compare, for instance, p. 2, 3: *Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣad-arthâviṣkaraṇa-parân api ślokân*; 4. 21: *dvitîyena Mâṇḍûkya-śruti-vyâkhyâna-rûpeṇa*; 12, 1: *artham upapâdya tasminn arthe śrutim avatârayati...... śrutiṃ vyâcaṣṭe*; 12, 9: *tasyetyâdi śrutim avatârya*; 12, 10; *bhûtaṃ ity-âdi-śrutiṃ gṛhîtvâ*; 22. 1: *vyâkhyâyamâna-śrutau*; 25. 1: *âcâryair Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣadaṃ paṭhitvâ.*[21] Thus these commentators, though belonging to different schools of Vedânta, all agree in saying that the Mâṇḍûkya is a *śruti* text; and the testimony of Śaṅkara, as against that of these other commentators, can be of but little account; moreover, the archaic style in which the Mâṇḍûkya is written resembles closely that of the Chândogya, Bṛhadâraṇyaka and Kauṣîtaki Upaniṣads and shows that the Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣad too, is, as indicated by its name, an upaniṣad or *śruti* text.

These objections are very plausible; but, as regards the latter, it must be observed that not all books written in an archaic style are *śruti* texts. The Caraka-saṃhitâ, for instance, that has come down to us and that was edited by Dṛḍhabala (see Winternitz, op. cit. III. 546 and n. 1) still retains abundant traces of the archaic style in which it was originally

[20] Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tanjore Sarasvatî Mahâl Library, p. 1054, no. 1556; in the third sentence I have corrected the reading *śrutis tad-vyâkhyâ-* into *śruti-tad-vyâkhyâ-*. The meaning of this passage is as follows: "The words *om ity etad akṣaram idaṃ sarvam*.....mark the beginning of the Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣad which consists of four sections. Reading it in sections, the teacher Gauḍapâda, through the favour of Nârâyaṇa, explained it by means of verses which are in four series and are introduced (after each section of the upaniṣad) by the words *atraite ślokâ bhavanti* 'In this connection are read, the following verses.' Thus, since the first section consisting of the *śruti* and its explanation is preponderatingly *śruti*, the practice grew up among Veda-knowers of calling it 'upaniṣad.' Similarly in the case of the latter three prakaraṇas too that treat of the same matters. This collection of four prakaraṇas is an epitome of the essence of the Vedânta-śâstra. And therefore there is no need to state separately (in words) the object aimed, the subject treated of, and the relation (between the subject and the book)."

[21] Ânandagiri however is not quite consistent in his views. In the passages just cited, he refers to the Mâṇḍûkya as *śruti*, while in his explanation of GK. IV. 1 (cited far above) he holds that the words *om ity etad akṣaram*......(beginning of the Mâṇḍûkya) have been written by the author of GK. IV, that is, that the Mâṇḍûkya is the work of a human author.

This inconsistency seems to be due to the fact that Ânandagiri lived in a time when the Mâṇḍûkya was regarded as an upaniṣad by every one. This therefore was the view of Ânandagiri also; but since he undertook the work of writing a *ṭîkâ* on Śaṅkara's commentary on that work, in which commentary Śaṅkara has plainly indicated (as we have seen above) that the Mâṇḍûkya is not a *śruti* text, his explanations sometimes reflect his own belief, and sometimes that of the *bhâṣyakâra*.

written ; and this book, as we know, is not a *śruti* text at all.[22] And, as regards the other commentators referred to above, even the earliest of them is posterior by at least three hundred or four hundred years to Śaṅkara, who is thus the earliest commentator that we know of on the work in question. As such, therefore, his testimony deserves far more credit than that of the other commentators ; and when there is a conflict between the two, we have necessarily to give credence to the former and reject the latter. Now, though it is true that Śaṅkara has nowhere said that the Mâṇḍûkya is not *śruti*, he *has* said that it and the 215 kârikâs have been written by the 'great teacher' (*parama-guru*). This statement effectively negatives the idea of the Mâṇḍûkya being *śruti*, and it becomes plain that the Mâṇḍûkya is not a *śruti* text,[23] but that it forms part of a work, which contains, besides, the 215 kârikâs, and which was written by a human author.

In that case, it may be asked, what about the circumstantial account given by Madhva about Varuṇa, in the form of a frog, 'seeing' the Mâṇḍûkya ? We answer, it is all pure concoction. The *Harivaṃśa* does not contain the passage cited by Madhva or anything similar to it. Nor is there any possibility of its containing it ; for, apart from other considerations, the Mâṇḍûkya was, as set forth above, written by a human author and not "seen" at all by any seer.

The charge has often been brought against Madhvâcârya that he is addicted to the fabrication of evidence, and that he very frequently cites passages from books which do not, and did not at any time, exist. Appayya Dîkṣita, in his *Madhva-mata-vidhvaṃsana*, has compiled a small list of such books cited by Madhva which includes *Caturamaṭha*, *Mâṭha-kaurṇarava*, *Kauṇḍinya*, *Mâṇḍavya*, *Mârkaṇḍavya*, *Maudgalya*, *Pauṣyâyaṇa*, *Sautrâyaṇa*, *Saukarâyaṇa*, *Kâṭharâyaṇa*, *Pârâśaryâyaṇa*, *Mâdhyaṃdinâyana*, *Kâṣârava*, *Kauṣâra*, *Kauṣayaṇa*, *Bṛhad-uddâlaka*, *Auddâlakâyana*, *Kauśika*, *Sauvarṇya*, *Vatsa-gavpavana*, *Bhâllaveya*, *Âgniveśya*, *Caturveda-śikhâ*, *Caturveda-saṃhitâ*, *Paramâ Śrutiḥ*, *Adhyâtma-nârâyaṇa-saṃhitâ*, *Brahmavaikarta*, *Bhaviṣyat-parvan*, *Mahâ-saṃhitâ*, *Mâyâtantra*, *Brahmatantra*, *Nârâyaṇatantra* and *Puruṣottamatantra*. Similarly, the Vîraśaiva writer Nirvâṇa too, when criticising Madhva's views in his commentary on the *Kriyâsâra*, uses the words (p. 24) *sva-vacanaprakaṭita-vaidika-mârgânanuguṇa-bhâgavatatvenâbhimata-sva-kapola-kalpita-vacane*, and thus says that Madhva's quotation from the *Bhâgavatatantra* is fabricated by Madhva. His words, *iti tad anadhîta-veda-gandha-Bhâllaveya-Kâṭharâyaṇa-Mâṭharâyaṇa-śruti-Vyomasaṃhitâdhînaṃ na bhavati | kiṃ tu prasiddha evopaniṣadi*....on p. 33 too seem likewise to indicate that he considered mythical the *Kâṭharâyaṇa-śruti* and the other above-mentioned works cited by Madhva.

The justness of this charge is borne out by Madhva's commentary on the Mâṇḍûkya. In this commentary (Kumbakonam edition), Madhva cites passages from *Pâdma*, *Bṛhat-saṃhitâ*, *Harivaṃśa* (in the plural), *Mahâyoga*, *Vârâha*, *Prakâśikâ*, *Mârkaṇḍeya*, *Brahma-tarka*, *Gâruḍa*, *Brahmâṇḍa*, *Mâhâtmya*, *Saṃkalpa*, *Pratyaya*, *Pratyânârâ*, *Mahopaniṣad*, *Praakṭa-śruti* and *Âtma-saṃhitâ*, and many other works. Of these, *Mahopaniṣad* is the name of an *upaniṣad* ; *Pâdma*, *Gâruḍa*, *Vârâha*, *Mârkaṇḍeya*, *Brahmâṇḍa* and *Harivaṃśa* are the names of well-known Purâṇas, and *Bṛhat-saṃhitâ* the name of Varâha-mihira's well-known work. No works are known bearing the names *Prakâśikâ*, *Brahmatarka*, *Mâhâtmya*,

[22] It is interesting to note that, like the Mâṇḍûkya, the Caraka-saṃhitâ too has, at the end of many of its sections (chapters), verses that are introduced by the words *atraite* or *atraite ślokâ bhavanti* This is the case with Vâtsyâyana's *Kâmasûtra* and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśâstra* also, works which were, like the Mâṇḍûkya, written in the early centuries of the Christian era.

[23] It is the accepted canon of the Mîmâṃsakas that the sole criterion of whether a text is *śruti* or not, is its being known by the name of *śruti* among the Veda-knowers from time immemorial (*śrutitvena anâdi-kâla-śiṣṭa-vyavahârah*). Such usage is not seen in the case of the Mâṇḍûkya ; for not only was it not known as *śruti* to Śaṅkara, who has commented upon it, but it is actually stated by him that it is the work of a human author.

Saṃkalpa, *Pratyaya*, *Pratyâhâra*, *Mahâyoga*, *Prakaṭa-śruti* and *Âtma-saṃhitâ*. The passages cited by Madhva from the *Harivaṃśa*, *Mahopaniṣad* and *Bṛhat-saṃhitâ* are not found in the books mentioned bearing those names, and are evidently fabrications of Madhva. So are, likewise, the citations from *Prakaṭa-śruti* and other mythical books [24]; and to judge from these, it is also very probable that his citations from the *Pâdma*, *Gâruḍa* and other Purâṇas are likewise fabrications.

It is of interest to note in this connection that, according to Madhva, the Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣad is in praise of the four-formed Nârâyaṇa, and the four forms praised of Nârâyaṇa, namely, *viśva*, *taijasa*, *prâjna* and *turîya* denote, respectively, Gaṇeśa, Indra, Rudra and Nârâyaṇa himself.

III. From the colophon at the end of Śaṅkara's commentary on prakaraṇas II (*iti....Śaṅkara-bhagavataḥ kṛtau Gauḍapâdîyâgamaśâstra-bhâṣye*) and IV (*iti....Śaṅkara-bhagavataḥ kṛtau Gauḍapâdîyâgamaśâstra-vivaraṇe*), we learn that the work comprising the Mâṇḍûkya and the 215 kârikâs bore the name of *Âgamaśâstra* and was written by Gauḍapâda.[25]

The title *Âgamaśâstra* means 'the *śâstra* founded on the *âgama*,' i.e., Veda, and refers, without doubt, to the upaniṣads, on which, as a matter of fact, the book[26] is based. There is hence no doubt that Gauḍapâda chose this title for his work in order to show that it was based on the Veda and that it had for its object the establishment of Advaita as the only true doctrine and the refutation of the teachings propounded, on the one hand, by Avaidikas like Buddhists, and on the other hand, by Naiyâyikas, Vaiśeṣikas, Sâṅkhyas and others, who, though acknowledging the authority of the Veda, yet taught doctrines opposed to it.

The word *âgama* in the title *âgama-prakaraṇa*, on the other hand, seems to be used in a two-fold sense ; and the *âgama-prakaraṇa* seems to be so called because (1) the teachings contained in it are based on *âgama*, i.e., the upaniṣads, and also (2) because the prakaraṇa consists mostly of *âgamas*, i.e., mere propositions or statements that are not accompanied with reasons.

IV. It is this title *Âgama-śâstra*, it seems to me, that has led to Gauḍapâda's work being regarded as *śruti*. This happened as early as the middle of the eighth century A.D. : for, as pointed out by Walleser (*Der Aeltere Vedânta*, pp. 21 ff. : see also Winternitz, *op. cit.* III,

[24] The only other alternative is to believe that copies of these works existed in a library to which Madhva had access, that these copies were unique, and that no other writer except Madhva (whether anterior, posterior or contemporary to him) had access to that library. This is impossible, and hence one cannot but conclude that Madhva fabricated evidence on a large scale.

For the rest, it is also most improbable that works could have existed bearing such names as *Saṃkalpa*, *Pratyaya*, *Pratyâhâra*, *Mâhâtmya*, *Prakaṭa-śruti*, *Prakâśikâ* and other similar names.

It is also most improbable that the *Pâdma* contains the passage, *dhyâyan Nârâyaṇaṃ devaṃ praṇavena samâhitaḥ | maṇḍûka-rûpî Varuṇas tuṣṭâva Harim avyayam* which Madhva cites from it. The story of the Mâṇḍûkya having been 'seen' by Varuṇa when he had assumed the form of a frog, is, as said above, an invention of Madhva ; and the Padma-purâṇa, as originally written, cannot therefore know anything about it.

[25] This is shown by the words *Gauḍapâdîya-bhâṣya âgamaśâstra-vivaraṇe* found in the colophon of the third prakaraṇa also. The colophon at the end of the first prakaraṇa reads (in the above-cited edition) *iti....Śaṅkara-bhagavataḥ kṛtâv âgamaśâstra-vivaraṇe Gauḍapâdîya-kârikâ-sahita-Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣad-bhâṣye.....*; but there is no doubt that the last of the above-cited words (*Gauḍapâdîya-°*) has been added later by some one, in the same way as the headings *atha Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣat* and *Gauḍapâdîya-kârikâṇâṃ sva-kṛtam avataraṇam* have been added by the editor on pp. 11 and 25.

[26] That is, the first prakaraṇa in it (the other three prakaraṇas are mostly argumentative) ; this is based on Bṛh. Up. 2. 1 and 4. 3 ; Praśna IV (see in this connection Śaṅkara's commentaries on these passages), and similar passages in the Chândogya and Kauṣitaki upaniṣads. Compare also the numerous references to the upaniṣads in GK. II-IV and the expressions *vedânta-niścayaḥ* and *vedânteṣu vicakṣaṇaiḥ* in GK. II. 12, 31.

431, n. 1), the Buddhist writer Śântirakṣita [27] refers to Gauḍapâda's work as 'upaniṣad-śâstra' and thus seems to have believed that Gauḍapâda's *Âgama-śâstra* as a whole (i.e., all the four sections of it) was an upaniṣad or *śruti* text. This opinion was current among some paṇḍits in the time of Nârâyaṇâśramin[28] also, whose words I have cited above; and I remember to have seen a printed edition of the 108 upaniṣads in which it was stated at the end of each prakaraṇa, *iti Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣadi prathamaṃ prakaraṇam, dvitîyaṃ prakaraṇam*, etc. Similarly, the four prakaraṇas were treated as four upaniṣads in a manuscript examined by the late Prof. Albrecht Weber who writes,[29] "The *Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣad* is reckoned as consisting of four Upaniṣads, but only the prose portion of the first of these, which treats of the three and half *mâtrâs* of the word *om*, is to be looked upon as the real *Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣad*, all the rest is the work of Gauḍapâda." The verses cited far above from the *Muktikopaniṣad* too show that the author of that text also regarded the 215 kârikâs as forming part of the Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣad; for, his statement that 'the Mâṇḍûkya alone is enough to lead one to liberation' cannot, obviously, refer to the twelve sentences only of the Mâṇḍûkya, but also to the kârikâs[30], which prove that *dvaita* is false, and *advaita* alone, real. It is likewise interesting in this connection to note that the editors of the Brahmasûtra-śâṅkara-bhâṣya with three commentaries that was published by the Nirṇaya-sâgara Press in 1904 have, on p. 320, said that the kârikâ *mṛl-loha-visphuliṅgâdyaiḥ*....is 'Mâṇḍû. 3. 15.'

I do not know when the view began to be current that the prose sentences in Gauḍapâda's *Âgamaśâstra* formed an upaniṣad, and when the name *Mâṇḍûkya*[31] was applied to them. As we have seen above, this is the view held by Ânandagiri, Nârâyaṇâśramin and other writers of the Advaita school, and also by Raṅgarâmânuja of the Viśiṣṭâdvaita school.

The view that the Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣad comprises not only the twelve prose sentences found in the Âgama-prakaraṇa, but the 29 kârikâs also occurring in it, seems to be a still later development. This is the view of Kûranârâyaṇa,[32] and perhaps of Doḍḍâcârya or Mahâcârya also, both of the Viśiṣṭâdvaita school[33]; and the words of Nârâyaṇâśramin cited above show that he too was aware that some 'Veda-knowers' regarded the whole of the Âgama-prakaraṇa as constituting the Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣad. According to him, this view had its origin in the fact that the Âgama-prakaraṇa with its 29 kârikâs is preponderatingly *śruti*, while the opinion that all the four prakaraṇas constituted the upaniṣad, had its origin in the fact that all the 215 kârikâs treat of the same matters as, and are associated with, the Mâṇḍûkya-śruti; see note [20] above.

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[27] This writer was born in 705 A.D. and died in 765 A.D. according to the account given in S. C. Vidyâbhûṣaṇa's *History of Indian Logic*, p. 323.

[28] The exact time in which this author lived is not known; but he mentions Śaṅkara and Ânandagiri, and is therefore later than both.

[29] *History of Indian Literature* (translation of John Mann and Theodor Zachariae), 1892, p. 161. In the manuscript in question, the four prakaraṇas of the Mâṇḍûkya form the upaniṣads numbered 25-28.

[30] Compare in this connection the following observation of Deussen on p. 533 *op. cit.*: "Dass die Muktikâ von diesen 108 Upanishaden in erster Linie Mâṇḍûkya empfiehlt, ist, wenn wir die in der Sammlung einbegriffene kârikâ des Gauḍapâda darunter mitverstehen, von dogmatischem Standpunkte aus begreiflich; beide bieten eine vortreffliche Uebersicht der Vedântalehre."

[31] The nearest approach to this name that is met with in the *Caraṇa-vyûha* is *Mâṇḍûkeya*; and this is there the name of a *śâkhâ* of the Ṛgveda.

[32] According to Madhva, the prose sentences only constitute the Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣad; but the 29 kârikâs in the Âgama-prakaraṇa too, though not forming part of the upaniṣad, are *śruti*; they were 'seen' by Brahmâ originally, and Varuṇa, when he 'saw' the Mâṇḍûkya, added the kârikâs after the various *khaṇḍas* of the Mâṇḍûkya. Compare the stanzas, *pramâṇasya pramâṇaṃ ced balavad vidyate mune | Brahma-dṛṣṭân ato mantrân pramâṇaṃ salileśvaraḥ | atra ślokâ bhavantîti cakâraiva pṛthak pṛthak* || 'cited' by Madhva from the *Gâruḍa* in his commentary on the Mâṇḍûkya.

[33] See Mr. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma in *Review of Philosophy and Religion*, 2, 55-6.

It is hinted by Nârâyaṇâśramin in his above-cited words that the epithet *om-ity-etad-akṣaram-ity-âdi* in Śaṅkara's observation (*vedântârtha-sâra-saṃgraha-bhûtam idaṃ prakaraṇa-catuṣṭayam om-ity-etad-akṣaram-ity-âdy ârabhyate*) at the beginning of his commentary refers really to the Mâṇḍûkyopaniṣad and should not be construed with *prakaraṇa-catuṣṭayam*, which, as also the word *vedântârtha-sâra-saṃgraha-bhûtam*, refers to the four sections of Gauḍapâda's kârikâs. This interpretation is, as already pointed out above, quite untenable. In addition, it may be observed that, in case Nârâyaṇâśramin's (and Ânandagiri's) view is correct, there would be no necessity at all for Śaṅkara to discuss about *śâstra* and *prakaraṇa* in the beginning of his commentary. It would have been enough if Śaṅkara had made the usual observations (compare the introduction to his commentary on the Kaṭhopaniṣad) about the meaning of the word *upaniṣad*; and since the four sections of the kârikâs form an appendix to the *upaniṣad*, there would be no necessity to discuss anywhere about *śâstra* and *prakaraṇa*. Moreover, one finds it difficult to believe, as Nârâyaṇâśramin and Ânandagiri ask one to do, that Gauḍapâda began his work baldly and strangely, with the words *atraite ślokâ bhavanti*. No one has ever begun a book in this manner, and it is certain that Gauḍapâda too would not.

V. It is, as already observed above, very doubtful if Gauḍapâda, author of the *Âgama-śâstra*, was the grand-teacher of Śaṅkara. In his commentary on GK. I, 9, and I, 12, Śaṅkara gives alternative explanations of pâdas cd and the word *sarva-dṛk* respectively; this hardly seems consistent in one who was a grand-pupil of the author, and indicates, on the other hand, that there was a fairly long interval between the writing of the book and of the commentary. Similarly, Professors Belvalkar and Ranade too have observed on p. 96 of their *History of Philosophy* (vol. 2): "The Kârikâs have been actually quoted by several early Buddhistic commentators of the Mâdhyamika school, and dates make it impossible that they should have been produced by a teacher's teacher of a writer of the eighth century, as Śaṅkarâcârya is usually taken to be." Dr. Walleser, too, similarly opines (*op. cit.*, p. 5 ff.) that the Kârikâs were written in about 550 A.D. which also makes it improbable that their author Gauḍapâda was the grand-teacher of Śaṅkara.

Dr. Walleser has also expressed (l.c.) the opinion that Gauḍapâda is not the name of a man, but is the designation of a school, and that the Kârikâs are the work of this school. This opinion seems to be endorsed by Professors Belvalkar and Ranade also who observe (l.c.); " Further, seeing that even the author of the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, Sureśvarâcârya, refers to these Kârikâs as expressing the views of the Gauḍas as contrasted with the views of the *Drâviḍas* (*Naiṣ*. IV, 41 ff.), a doubt can be, and has been, legitimately expressed as to the authenticity of the tradition which makes an author by name Gauḍapâda (the pupil of Śuka and the teacher's teacher of the great Śaṅkarâcârya) responsible for these so-called 'Mâṇḍûkya Kârikâs.' "

This view is based on a misapprehension of *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, IV, 41-44, which reads as follows:

kârya-kâraṇa-baddhau tâv iṣyete viśva-taijasau |
prâjñaḥ kâraṇa-baddhas tu dvau tau turye na sidhyataḥ || 41 ||
anyathâ gṛhṇataḥ svapno nidrâ tattvam ajânataḥ |
viparyâse tayoḥ kṣîṇe turîyaṃ padam aśnute || 42 ||
tathâ Bhagavatpâdîyaṃ udâharaṇam :
suṣuptâkhyaṃ tamojñânaṃ bîjaṃ svapna-prabodhayoḥ |
âtma-bodha-pradagdhaṃ syâd bîjaṃ dagdhaṃ yathâbhavam || 43 ||
evaṃ Gauḍair Drâviḍair naḥ pûjyair ayam arthaḥ prakâśitaḥ |

As explained by the commentator Jñânottama, the first two of the above-cited stanzas are from the Gauḍapâda-kârikâs (I. 11; 15) and the third from Bhagavatpâda's (i.e., Śaṅkara's) *Upadeśasahasrî* (17. 26 of the metrical version); and hence the words *Gauḍaiḥ* and

Drâviḍaiḥ do not mean 'by the Gauḍa people and Drâviḍa people' but 'by the Gauḍa teacher and Drâviḍa teacher,' i.e., 'by Gauḍapâda and Śaṅkara.' The meaning of stanza 44ab, therefore is, "This has been thus explained by our revered teachers, Gauḍa[-pâda] and Śaṅkara"; and there is no mention in this stanza of the Gauḍa people and the Drâviḍa people.[34]

For the rest, it also becomes plain from the *Bṛhadâraṇyakopaniṣad-bhâṣya-vârtika* of the same author, namely, Sureśvara, that he knew well that the Gauḍapâda-kârikâs were written by the teacher named Gauḍapâda. See, for instance, 1. 4. 389 (p. 510): *aniścitâ yathâ rajjur iti nyâyopabṛṃhitam | sphuṭârthaṃ Gauḍapâdîyaṃ vaco 'rthe 'traiva gîyate* ||; 2. 1. 386 (p. 951): *niḥśeṣa-veda-siddhânta-vidvadbhir api bhâṣitaṃ | Gauḍâcâryair idaṃ vastu yathâ 'smâbhiḥ prapañcitam* ||; and 4. 4. 886 (p. 1866): *ślokâṃś ca Gauḍapâdâder yathoktârthasya sâkṣiṇaḥ | adhîyate 'tra yatnena sampradâya-vidaḥ svayam.* The second of the stanzas cited here shows that *-pâda* in *Gauḍapâda* is added only for the sake of respect (compare the words *bhagavat-pâda, âcârya-pâda, pûjya-pâda, pitṛ-pâda*, etc.), and that the real name is *Gauḍa* only. It is very probable that this was not originally a personal name but was an epithet applied to the teacher in order to distinguish him from other teachers, and that, in course of time, it wholly supplanted his personal name. *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, IV. 44, cited above affords another instance of this word *Gauḍa* being used as a personal name.

VI. There is thus not the least doubt that there existed a teacher known as Gauḍapâda, and that he produced the work known as *Âgamaśâstra*. As observed above, this work is a whole, conceived and executed on a well-arranged plan. It is the purpose of the work to establish the reality of Advaita; and this it effectively accomplishes, positively, by showing in the first prakaraṇa, that the *âtman* in the *turîya* condition, when the world has disappeared, is identical with Brahman, and, negatively, by showing, in the last three prakaraṇas, that Dvaita is unreal.

This work is thus the earliest systematical work on Vedânta that has come down to us. And it says much for the genius of Gauḍapâda that he should have picked out, from the heterogeneous mass of teachings contained in the upaniṣads, that about the *jâgrat, svapna*, and *suṣupti* conditions, as the one that would directly prove the truth of Advaita, given it clear-cut shape in the Âgama-prakaraṇa, and made it the corner-stone of his system of Vedânta.

The value of this achievement is by no means lessened even if Gauḍapâda borrowed some theories, arguments, stanzas and even passages from various other writers; for, after all, it is his genius that has bound all these diverse elements into a single whole.

It follows from this that the writers who have interpreted passages from Gauḍapâda's work in a non-Advaitic sense are merely deluding themselves and are in the wrong; for, it must be remembered that, in case the passages in question have been borrowed by Gauḍapâda, whatever their original meaning may have been, they are interpreted by Gauḍapâda in an Advaitic sense, and used by him to support his exposition of the Advaita philosophy.

The *Âgamaśâstra* contains, as already pointed out by Deussen (*op. cit.*, p. 574), all the essential teachings (*mâyâ-vâda, ajâti-vâda, rajju-sarpa-dṛṣṭânta*, etc.) of the Advaita system. Śaṅkara[35] has but elaborated and systematised these teachings, in the same way as Plato did those of Parmenides; and Deussen's comparison of Gauḍapâda and Śaṅkara with Parmenides and Plato is, now that we know that the Mâṇḍûkya too is the work of Gauḍapâda, true to a greater extent than was thought of by him.[36]

34 *naḥ pûjyair Gauḍair Drâviḍaiḥ* is equivalent to *naḥ pûjyair Gauḍâcâryair Drâviḍâcâryaiḥ*; the plural here is honorific.

35 And it is perhaps this fact that gave rise to the tradition that Śaṅkara was the grand-pupil of Gauḍapâda.

36 Lately, there have been published by Mr. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma two articles entitled 'New Light on the Gauḍapâda Kârikâs' and 'Further Light on the Gauḍapâda Kârikâs' in the *Review of Philosophy and Religion* (2, 35 ff.; and 3, 45 ff.) in which he has endeavoured to show that (not only the Mâṇḍûkya but) the 29 kârikâs also of the Âgama-prakaraṇa were regarded as *śruti* by not only Madhva and Kûranârâyaṇa, but by Śaṅkara himself, and also by Ânandagiri, Sureśvara, Madhusûdana Sarasvatî and other advaitin writers. I shall therefore review on another occasion the arguments employed there by Mr. Sarma.

KÂSHMÎRÎ PROVERBS.

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, ŚRÎNAGAR, KASHMÎR.

(*Continued from page 76 supra.*)

Athaci ungaji pânts che na âsân hishey.
The five fingers of the hand are not all equal.
(Used as meaning that all people are not alike, or that all do not attain the same rank in life.)

Bhaṭṭa chu baṭlohiy zâts ;
Jaldai tatân tah jaldai tûrân.
A *paṇḍit* is of the nature of a brass vessel,
[Which] quickly gets hot and quickly gets cold.
(This is said with the meaning that a *paṇḍit* spends his money, when he gets it, too quickly, so that he soon comes to penury : this is regarded as a characteristic of the *paṇḍit* class.)

" *Bhutrâts mâj ! gub kus ?* "
" *Yus buth chalnay bhata khiyi ;*
Brânda peṭha muthar kari ;
Dohali nendar kari ;
Graṭṭa tala oṭ khiyi."
" Mother Earth ! who is heavy ? "
" He who eats food without washing his face [is dirty] ;
[He who] urinates at the door-step [is lazy] ;
He who sleeps during the daytime [is slothful] ;
He who eats flour from the millstone [is greedy]."

Dâri kin anz tsâmut, tonti kĕt masâla phuṭaj hĕt.
A grey goose flying in by the window, carrying in his bill a packet of spices (for use when it is killed and cooked).
(Said of a desire unexpectedly fulfilled.)

Ḍûmb Dĕlinyuk Jâmbâzporyuk tâwândâr.
The Ḍûmb of Dĕlina amerced for Jâmbâzpura.
(Said of an innocent person involved in trouble instead of another who is really guilty. Dĕlina and Jâmbâzpura are two villages in the Bâramula Tahsîl, five miles apart.)

Gagur pakân hul hul,
Par panani vâj kun syud.
The rat runs in a zigzag course,
Yet straight towards its own hole.
(Said of a person who looks a simpleton, but is very careful where his own interests are concerned.)

Goras âyov nâyid zangi :
Dupnas ; " Buh ti be-mûlay tsa ti be-mûlay."
A barber came across a priest ;
The latter said : " I carry on business without capital ; thou too art conducting business without capital (i.e., we are both equal).

Gor divân wuḍi ta wachas
Kâmbari-pachas drâv na keṅh.
The priest is beating his head and breast
[Because] the fortnight of *śrâddha* did not last long.
(Referring to the first half of the month of Asoj, when Hindus make offerings to the priests in the name of their ancestors.)

Kaṅsĕn ziṭhi ta ziṭhen kaṅsi gatshan âsani.
The young should have the elders, and the elders the young.
(Such a combination means happiness.)

Kashîr chĕ par-dwârac.
Kashmir is for outsiders.
(Outsiders have always exploited Kashmir, as its history shows. Its own inhabitants have ever been sadly neglected by unsympathetic foreigners.)

Kâv ai chĕlzĕn sazi sâbaney,
Kâvas kraṅhnĕl tsali na zâh.
Aslas tah kamînas khislat naney
Hûni luṭ kandilas gond bani na zâh.
If a crow be washed even with vegetable soap,
Its black colour will never be removed from the crow.
The noble and the mean will disclose their intrinsic natures ;
A dog's tail can never change into a crest by being kept in a case.

Lŭc kani chĕ baji kani tal vĕpân.
A small stone fits in beneath a large stone (and then the latter becomes well laid).
(This is used as meaning, e.g., that an officer cannot work properly without the help of his subordinates.)

"*Mâjiy ! mâm hai oy.*"
"*Myon, hov putra, boi.*"
"Mother ! my maternal uncle has come."
"Yes, son, my brother."

Muṭh myûṭh kaṭas ;
Sas myûṭh Bhaṭṭas ;
Nĕndar mîṭh drâlid-kaṭas.
Beans are sweet to a ram ;
Pulse is sweet to a *paṇḍit* ,
Sleep is sweet to a lazy young man.

Nagara nîrit Pândreṅṭhan.
Going out of the city to Pândreṅṭhan.
(Said of going a very short distance, as Pândreṅṭhan is quite close to Śrînagar. The saying, however, can also be interpreted as meaning : Without leaving home, know thyself, i.e., be religious and pious without making any show.)

Pints-kâni dapân Wulur pâzah.
A finch boasts of draining the Wular Lake. (Said of a vain boast.)

Pitari gay mitsari-kanḍi—atsana bâz rozan na ;
Pitareni gayi martsa-pîpini—natsana bâz rozan na.
The male collaterals are like thorns : they will but prick (i.e., cause harm).
The female collaterals are like tops ; they will but dance (i.e., mock). (Collaterals are often envious of one another.)

Qarzan chu âb-i-hayât comut.
Debt has drunk the water of immortality.
(A debt must be paid sooner or later ; it remains a debt till repaid.)

Qarzun larza.
Oh, the terror of debt! (Beware of contracting debt. Cf. *Gulistân*, chap. III, tale 9 :—

بتمناي گوشت مُردن به كه تقاضاي زشت قصّابان

" It is better to die for want of meat than to endure the rude importunities of the butcher.")

Shuri kor kâv kâv ; bab vĕthĕv.
Baban kur kâv kâv ; shuri dup bab matĕv.
The child cried ' Caw, caw ' ; the father was delighted.
The father cried ' Caw, caw ' ; the child said his father had gone mad.

Trakar chĕ na kâṅsi hanz mâs zi pâs karĕs.
A scale is nobody's maternal aunt, that it should be prejudiced in weighing.

Trats trits ta tre paṅtshîy.
Slowly, slowly, and three *paṅtshîy* earned.
(Slow and scanty earnings. *Paṅtshîy* is the plural of *pûṅtshu*, which is equal to 2 *bhaganis*, or 16 *kauṛîs*).

Wodapuryuk begharaz.
An apathetic [person] from Wodapur.
(Used of a person who takes no interest in anything. Wodapur is a village in the Uttarmachipura Tahsîl, the inhabitants of which are famed as being too simple to take an interest in anything.)

Wâgâmyuk Gopâl.
Gopâl of Wâgâm.
(Said of a very familiar person. Wâgâm is a village in the Śrî Pratâp Singhpura Tahsîl, where lived a man named Gopâl, who used to visit everybody, generally uninvited.)

Yâtay na pakay : nâtay ṭakay.
At one time I would not walk ; now, on the contrary, I would run.
(Said of a lazy person, who has suddenly become excessively active.)

Yusuy swâd phalis suy chu gurnas.
The same taste is in one [grape] as in a bunch [of grapes].

Zâr gav khwar.
Gambling is ruinous.

Zar taṣadduq-i-sar.
Wealth is meant for one's enjoyment.

Ani hanza kori sat.

The seven daughters of the blind woman.

Note.—A blind woman beggar gave birth to seven daughters, and with the birth of each daughter she began to get more alms. (Cf. the English proverb, 'Give and spend, and God will send.')

Bhaṭṭa chuy gûli-kutsur, kanji pânas ta goji lûkan.

The *paṇḍit* is [like] a man cutting out kernels from water-chestnuts—the shells [he keeps] for himself, and the kernels [he sells] to the people.

(A *paṇḍit* is unselfish.)

Dharmas karĕn tsoci.

He changed his religion into bread.

(Said of an irreligious, worldly man.)

Dosi peṭhi ṭaka-ṭak.

To run a race on the top of a wall.

(A hazardous attempt.)

Dumaṭṭas rînz lâyin.

To shoot pellets on to a dome.

Cf. *Gulistân*, Ch. I:—

پرتو نیکان نہ گیرد ہرکہ بنیادش بد است

تربیت نا اہل را چون گردگان برگنبد است

" A person having an evil origin shall not receive the enlightenment of the good ;

To educate the worthless is like throwing balls upon a dome " (they will always roll down again).

Kali-yoga-ci baji-mâji.

Elderly mothers of the *Kaliyuga.*

(Said of young girls who have become mistresses of houses.)

Kanawâji ṭhas gav.

Yasi gav tasi gav.

The sound of an ear-ring [falling down] occurred.

It occurred to whomsoever it did occur.

Keṅh na khuta chu keṅtshâyi jân.

Something is better than nothing.

Kritsa kori baji-mâji ta phoka-nĕciv muqaddam.

Lasses collecting *krits* (a kind of yam, *Dioscorea deltoidea*) have become mistresses of houses, and simple lads, village headmen.

Mâji mâsi ta kori kus kâsi ?

To the mother [and] to the maternal aunt [it has happened thus], so who can prevent it [from happening] to the daughter ?

Mâli sozayi kori progas dâr kâsit :

tamisanzi hashi dupas dâr yiyas bĕyi ;

kâr kâsit suzna zi bĕyi yiyas na.

A father shaved his beard [and] sent it to his daughter as a present in place of money on the occasion of a festival : her mother-in-law remarked that he would grow

his beard all right again ; he did not cut and send his own head, lest he might not get another.

Note.—Hindu mothers-in-law were very exacting in taking customary money presents on the occasions of different festivals from their daughters-in-law's parents. These presents have now been greatly curtailed, thanks to the efforts of social reformers.

Mě chě pananěn mâsan hanz khabaray.

I am fully acquainted with my maternal aunts (i.e., you need not trouble to give me any description of them).

Mitras gatshi tasund aib buthis pěṭ wanun.

A friend should be told his faults to his face.

Mitr lâgit shatru.

An enemy in the guise of a friend. (Cf. ' A wolf in lamb's skin.'
Cf. also " Evil-doer behind your back,
Sweet-tongued in your presence ;
Give up a friend of this ilk
As a pot of poison concealed by milk.")

Or ma gatsh yûri wola

Do not go there, come here.
(Said of attracting the rabble.)

Rupayi nishiy chě wâtân rupay.

A rupee comes to a rupee. (Cf. the English proverb, ' Money begets money.')

Note.—A simpleton heard this proverb and thought that if he had a single rupee he could amass a fortune easily. He got one and went to a banker's shop. The banker had at that time a heap of rupees, which he was busily counting. There was a small hole in one of the walls of the shop. The simpleton hid himself behind this wall and thrust his rupee through the hole towards the banker's money, thinking that, by doing so, the rupees in the heap would be drawn towards his, and he would take them away. But his rupee accidentally slipped from his fingers and got mixed with the banker's money. Now the simpleton began to cry at the loss of his rupee. People collected and inquired the cause of his distress. He explained the whole thing to them. They smiled at his simplicity and told him that the proverb was true enough. Instead of the banker's rupees coming towards his rupee, his went to them, and so the proverb was fulfilled.

Saif-Ullah Mirani safar.

Saif-Ullah Mîr's [long account of his] travels.
(Used in reference to long and tedious descriptions, e.g., of a man's troubles and woes.)

Thak gav zi phak gav.

Stopped and stagnated.
(E.g., always taking out of the purse and never putting in soon empties it.)

Tshotun tsâv zi hotsun âv.

Exhaustion came and putrefaction set in.
(Said, e.g., when a man's income begins to decrease and he becomes involved in difficulties.)

Yâ zarav nata birav
Either suffer or else get away.
(Cf. the English proverb, ' What cannot be cured must be endured.')

Yithi pîra khota chu be-pîray jân.
It is better to be without a priest than with such a priest.
(Bad principle is worse than no principle.)

Zyûṭh gav byûṭh.
Too lengthy results in a dead stop.
(Cf. the British proverb, ' Too much is stark naught.')

MISCELLANEA

INDIA AND THE EAST IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

Acta Orientalia, XI, Pt. III (1933).—In this issue M. Mironov continues his interesting notes on Aryan Vestiges in the Near East of the 2nd Millenary B.C., dealing with names of persons, gods and places found in the Amarna letters (Palestine and Syria, 1380-1350 B.C.), and among the Mitanni (1475-1280 B.C.) and the Hittites (1400-1280 B.C.), and adding linguistic remarks on the phonology and morphology of the names, many of which have a special interest for Indian readers. Some guarded observations are made on the evidence revealed by this material. M. Mironov regards the Indian character of the numerals noted in the Hittite documents as obvious, and he points out that it seems possible to assign the forms to a particular stage of development of the Indian language, the date of those documents being known with fair precision (viz., not later than 1200 B.C.). Though the material be too scanty to permit of definite conclusions, he considers the forms "may be assigned to the language of the Veda, but they do not seem to be archaic, i.e., to belong to the oldest strata of the Vedic language." He is led to the view that the facts seem to corroborate the conclusion drawn by Sten Konow from the (supposed) fact of the Aśvins being mentioned in the Boghazkeui documents as groomsmen, that the extension of Indo-Aryan civilization into Mesopotamia took place after the bulk of the Ṛgveda had come into existence, and the oldest portions of that collection should accordingly be regarded as considerably older than the Mitanni treaty.

In the same issue Prof. Rapson replies to the arguments of Prof. Lüders (*Ib.*, X, pp. 118-125) regarding the date in the inscription on the Âmohini Tablet at Mathurâ, and gives some additional reasons in support of his view that the decimal figure in the date is 40, and not 70 as Prof. Lüders thinks.

Acta Orientalia, XI, Pt. IV (1933) contains a paper by I. Scheftelowitz on 'The Mithra Religion of the Indo-Scythians and its Connection with the Saura and Mithra Cults,' in which he sets forth in considerable detail the numerous analogies between the cult as originally practised by the Śakas and as introduced into India, and quotes many references that throw light upon the spread and development of the cult in India and the effects of Brâhmaṇical influences. Many aspects of this interesting subject, which had been so succinctly and ably outlined in Pt. II, Chap. xvi, of the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism*, etc. (*Grundriss* series) will be found to be elaborated in this paper. The difficult question of the period at which the cult was actually started in India remains, however, to be definitely solved.

Zeitschrift der D.M.G. (N. S. XI, Pts. 1 and 2), 1932.—In a paper entitled 'War Marco Polo auf dem Pamir,' W. Lentz states his reasons for holding that Marco Polo did not cross the Pâmîrs, as hitherto generally accepted (e.g., by Yule, Cordier, Stein and others), but, having reached Ishkashm, he turned north by the valley of the Âb-i-Panja as far as the Wanj valley, and ascending it and crossing the Akbai Sitargi entered the Khingâb valley, whence he passed over the Gardani Kaftar into the Alai valley, which he followed, in a more or less easterly direction, and so on to Kâshgar. He holds with Benedetto, that Scasem, and not Casem, is the correct reading, and that M's town was Ishkashm, and not Kishm. Marco's Vocan (one MS. reads Voca), hitherto always equated with Wakhân, he locates in the Khingâb valley, to portions of which we find the name Wakhiâ (' upper ' and ' lower ') locally applied, according to Stein (*Innermost Asia*, II, 890). Suffice it to add here that, while the suggested route is attractive as being less perilous, there are many objections to accepting this as the route described in Marco's narrative, even as it appears in Benedetto's revised text.

C. E. A. W. O.

BOOK-NOTICES

MAHÂRÂṆÂ KUMBHA: SOVEREIGN, SOLDIER, SCHOLAR, by HARBILAS SARDA, M.L.A. Second Edition, 1932, pp. xxvi + 234. Vedic Yantrâlaya, Ajmer.

The first edition of *Mahârâṇâ Kumbha* by Mr. Harbilas Sarda was published in 1917, and was welcomed by all students of Râjpût History as a work of absorbing interest. The book has now been re-written and enlarged into the present edition, so much so that it is practically a new work.

The book is divided into sixteen chapters. The first three deal with the "Guhilot Family of Mewar," "Rana Kshetra Singh and Laksh Singh" and "Mahârâṇâ Mokal." The next eight chapters discuss the history of the reign of the illustrious Mahârâṇâ Kumbha of Mewar. Chapter XII sets forth the achievements of the Mahârâṇâ, while Chapter XIII describes Kumbha's monuments. In Chapters XIV and XVI, the author has estimated the position of Kumbha respectively as a scholar and as a sovereign. Chapter XV gives a summary of nineteen of the more important inscriptions of the time of the Mahârâṇâ, along with a short note on the coins issued by this ruler. A valuable appendix is added, which not only gives the text of seven of the inscriptions of Kumbha, but also quotes an interesting passage from the famous *Ekaliṅga-mâhâtmya*. Not the least important feature of the book is the Index, which the first edition sadly lacked. It is by no means free from foibles and inaccuracies, some of which we will notice shortly, but it cannot be denied that, taken as a whole, the book is a scholarly production, is written in such a style that it reads like a novel and is much more of a history than a compilation of history of which we have recently more than one instance, so far at any rate as Râjpûtânâ is concerned.

Another interesting feature of the book is the way in which the author has tried to prove the partial and untrustworthy nature of the accounts of some Muhammadan historians, especially of Firishta, which is chiefly relied upon by European scholars. The author has impartially shown that Firishta has, in instances more than one, either remained silent about or slurred over the defeat of a Muhammadan king by a Hindu ruler. But we regret to note that the pleasure from the perusal of the book is somewhat marred by the numerous misprints, and the general absence, and, in a few cases, the improper use, of diacritical marks. We also regret that some of the views of the author cannot be acceptable. Thus, following an impossible theory about the "Krita-Gupta Eras," Mr. Sarda has placed the date of Mihirakula's battle with Bâlâditya in "about 131 A.D." (p. 54)! We are also unable to accept his view that "Pṛithvîrâj, king of Ajmer, ruled the whole of Northern India" (p. 82) or that the Chauhân king Vîsaladeva, uncle of Pṛithvîrâja, "conquered the whole of upper India" (p. 196).

Mr. Sarda does not believe that the "chivalrous" Râo Raṇmal entertained any idea of appropriating the throne of Chitor (p. 61). Yet he speaks of the brutal murder of Râghavadeva who was "loved throughout Mewar for his high character, courage, manly beauty and patriotism" (p. 41), and also refers to the gradual rise of the Râthoḍ nobles, to whom "all positions of confidence and trust as well as those of political and military importance were bestowed" (p. 59).

In spite of these differences of opinion which are by no means of a serious nature, we have no doubt that it is a work worthy of a scholar and that it will be read with much interest and profit by a layman also. We hope that, like Hemâdri during the time of the Yâdavas of Devagiri, or Sâyaṇa during the Vijayanagara rule, Mr. Sarda will find time to write more books of this nature.

D. R. B.

GAṄGÂ-PURÂTATTVÂṄKA. 9¼ × 7¼ in.; 337 pages. Published from the *Gaṅgâ* Office, Kṛṣṇagaṛh, Sultânganj, dt. Bhâgalpur, 1933. Rs. 3.

Kumâr Kṛṣṇânanda Siṁha of Banaili and the editorial staff of the new Hindî illustrated monthly magazine *Gaṅgâ* are to be congratulated on the enterprise and success shown in the publication of this special archæological number of their journal, which contains a large number of instructive papers dealing with various aspects of ancient and medieval Indian history and culture, including archæology, epigraphy, numismatics, linguistics, scripts and painting, etc. We find here papers by some of the most distinguished Indian scholars of the present day, such as Rao Bahadur S. K. Aiyangar, Rai Bahadur Hîrâlâl, Dr. Hîrânanda Śâstrî, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, Dr. N. N. Law and many other well-known names. Some of the articles furnish useful summaries of the far-reaching results of the explorations carried out in recent times at Mohenjodâro, Nâlandâ, Basâṛh, Pahâṛpur and other sites; others describe archæological treasures preserved in some of the principal museums, while a few are of a more speculative character. Many of the papers are illustrated. The volume provides in a handy form a mass of information for the Hindî-reading public, not otherwise readily available to them in that language.

C. E. A. W. O.

FURTHER LIGHT ON RÂMAGUPTA.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., HEAD OF THE SANSKRIT DEPARTMENT, NAGPUR UNIVERSITY.

IN his interesting article on 'A new Gupta King,'[1] Professor A. S. Altekar has cited and discussed the following passage from the *Kâvyamîmâṁsâ* of Râjaśekhara—

दत्त्वा रुद्धगतिः खसाधिपतये देवीं ध्रुवस्वामिनीं
यस्मात्खण्डितसाहसो निववृते श्रीशर्म (v l. सेन) गुप्तो नृपः ।
तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गुरुगुहाकोणक्वणत्किन्नरे
गीयन्ते तव कार्तिकेय ! नगरस्त्रीणां गणैः कीर्तयः ॥

In discussing the bearing of this passage on his reconstruction of Gupta history he has remarked as follows :—" The verse is addressed to Kârtikeya, who is obviously Kumâragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. Kumâra and Kârtikeya are synonyms ; peacock is the *vâhana* of the deity and we know that Kumâragupta has struck some coins of the peacock variety. The unknown poet of this stanza is contrasting the prosperous condition of the house under Kumâragupta with the dire distress to which it was reduced under Śarmagupta."[2] As the version of the incident given in this verse differs in some material points from the account of the same found in the works of Bâṇa, Viśâkhadatta and Śankarârya, Prof. Altekar is constrained to add as follows[3] :—" Unfortunately we do not know who the author of this verse was, when he flourished and whether he had any reliable historic tradition to rely upon," and, again, " it is not therefore unlikely that with a desire of having a romantic background and developing a poetic contrast, he may have permitted himself a little liberty with history by changing the name Śaka into Khasa."

These two statements involve a contradiction which Prof. Altekar has failed to notice. The verse cited above was evidently composed by some poet who was a contemporary of Kârtikeya, who is addressed[4] and whose exploits are praised therein. If this Kârtikeya was Kumâragupta I, his court poet had undoubtedly "reliable historical tradition to rely upon." We must, therefore, suppose that he wilfully took a liberty with history and that his contemporaries had so completely forgotten the incident in Râmagupta's life within the short period of one generation that they allowed the poet to do so. Such a supposition is, however, unwarranted. If we read the verse carefully, we would find that the king Kârtikeya who is eulogised therein must have belonged to some other dynasty. No court poet of the Guptas would have thought of making such a contrast, and thereby focussing people's attention on that deplorable incident. As in the Sanjâna Plates, the author of this verse is evidently referring to some king of another dynasty who achieved glorious success where Râmagupta ignominiously failed. Who then is this Kârtikeya ? No early king of this name is known to history. The *Caṇḍakauśika* of Aryakṣemîśvar, which was staged before a king named Mahîpâla, mentions his other name as Kârtikeya in the Bharatavâkya.[5]

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[1] *JBORS.*, XIV, part II, p. 223. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 242. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

[4] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who has discussed this question in the *Malaviya Commemoration Volume* (p. 194) takes कार्तिकेयनगर as one word and locates it near the village Baijnâth in the Almora district, U.P. According to him the verse is addressed to Candragupta, who is not named therein. This is hardly convincing. We must remember that Râjaśekhara has cited the verse as a type of *muktaka*, which means a detached stanza, complete in itself. When such stanzas are addressed to kings, their names are invariably inserted in them. (See, for instance, the 194 stanzas in praise of various kings collected in the *subhaśitaratna-bhâṇḍâgâra*, Nirṇaya Sâgar Ed., pp. 118-128). We must, therefore, take *Kârtikeya* as vocative and try to locate the scene of the event in some other way.

[5] येनादिश्य प्रयोगं घनपुलकभृता नाटकस्यास्य हर्षाद्
वस्त्रालङ्कारहेम्नां प्रतिदिनमकृशा राशयः सम्प्रदत्ताः ।
तस्य क्षत्रप्रसूतेर्भ्रमतु जगदिदं कार्तिकेयस्य कीर्तिः
पारे क्षीराब्धिसिन्धोरपि कवियशसा सार्धमग्रेसरेण ॥

Scholars are divided on the question of the identity of this Mahîpâla. Professors Sten Konow,[6] Keith[7] and S. K. Aiyangar[8] take him to be of the Gurjara-Pratihâra dynasty of Kanauj, while Prof. R. D. Banerjee[9] identifies him with Mahîpâla I of the Pâla dynasty of Bengal. The latter view is, however, impossible for the following reasons :—

(1) Mahîpâla I of Bengal was a Buddhist, and was not therefore likely to be transported with joy as described in this drama over the story of Hariścandra. There is no peculiar Buddhistic trait anywhere in the drama—neither in the *nândi*, nor in the body of the play.

(2) None of the inscriptions of this Mahîpâla give Kârtikeya as his other name.

(3) This Mahîpâla of Bengal is not known to have been hostile to the Karnâṭas. In the *Caṇḍakauśika*, however, the Sūtradhâra quotes the following *gâthâ*, which, he says, is known to those who are conversant with tradition :—

य : सश्रित्य प्रकृतिगहनामार्यचाणक्यनीतिं
जित्वा नन्दान् कुसुमनगरं चन्द्रगुप्तो जिगाय ।
कर्णाटत्वं ध्रुवमुपगतानद्य तानेव हन्तुं
दोर्दर्पाढ्य: स पुनरभवच्छ्रीमहीपालदेव : ॥

The late Prof. R. D. Banerjee tried to explain this verse as referring to the invasion of Bengal by Râjendra Coḷa ; for "in those days the people of Bengal could not distinguish between Kannaḍas and Tâmils." This argument is not convincing. It is more probable, indeed, almost certain, that Mahîpala of the *Caṇḍakauśika* was the first king of that name in the Gurjara-Pratihâra dynasty of Kanauj. (1) We know that he was a follower of Hinduism. He calls himself a devotee of the sun in his inscriptions. But he was not a sectarian, for he secured the image of Vaikuṇṭha (Viṣṇu) which was afterwards placed in a beautiful temple at Khajurâho. The Pratihâras called themselves *Sûryavaṁśî*, and traced their descent from Lakṣmaṇa, the brother of Râma. It is but natural that Mahîpâla I should be overjoyed to see the life of one of his illustrious ancestors Hariścandra represented on the stage, as described in the *Caṇḍakauśika*. (2) Like his father and grandfather, Mahîpâla I bore several names, Harṣa,[10] Vinâyakapâla and Herambapâla.[11] He was also probably known as Caṇḍapâla. Caṇḍapâla is the hero of the Prakrit drama *Karpûramañjarî* of his court poet Râjaśekhara. He is also probably referred to by the alternative title Pracaṇḍapâṇḍava of Râjaśekhara's other drama, Bâlabhârata, which was staged before him. Âryakṣemîśvar also seems to refer to him by the *caṇḍa* in the title *Caṇḍakauśika* of his Sanskrit play. Both *caṇḍa* and *pracaṇḍa* are used several times in the two dramas *Caṇḍakauśika* and *Pracaṇḍapâṇḍava*. It is again in the fitness of things that Mahîpâla I, the son of Nirbhayarâja (Mahendrapâla), should call himself Caṇḍapâla. Now Caṇḍa is one of the names of Kârtikeya,[12] and so it is no matter for surprise that Âryakṣemîśvar calls him Kârtikeya in the *Bharatavâkya*. The verse from the *Kâvyamîmâṁsâ* cited at the beginning of this article describes one Kârtikeya who was either a predecessor or a contemporary of Râjaśekhara. As stated above, no king of that name is known to have flourished before the age of Râjaśekhara. It follows, therefore, that this Kârtikeya is no other than Mahîpâla I of Kanauj. It may at first sight seem strange that Mahîpâla should be known by three such names as Harṣa, Herambapâla and Kârtikeya, denoting the three deities Śiva, Gaṇapati and Kârtikeya. But we have an analogous instance in his grandfather, Bhoja, being called Mihira (the Sun) and Âdivarâha (Viṣṇu).

[6] *Das indische Drama*, p. 86.
[7] *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 239.
[8] *J.I.H.*, II, p. 341.
[9] *JBORS.*, XIV, Part II, p. 520.
[10] *I.A.*, XV, p. 138.
[11] *E.I.*, I, p. 134.
[12] Caṇḍa is included in the names of *Kârtikeya* well-known in three worlds' in the *Mahâbhârata*, *Vanaparva adhyâya*, 232 (Bom. Ed.)

(3) The *gâthâ* in the *Candakauśika* speaks of Mahîpâla's hostility to the Karṇâtas. We know that Mahîpâla I of Kanauj was obliged to leave his capital when it was devastated by the Râṣṭrakûṭa king Indra III.[13] Mahîpâla afterwards regained his throne with the help of a Candella king, who was either Harṣa or his son, Yaśovarman. Âryakṣemîśvar has evidently composed or incorporated the *gâthâ* in his play to please his royal patron, who must have been smarting under his humiliating defeat. The Karṇâtas mentioned in that *gâthâ* are evidently the Kanarese Raṣṭrakûṭas of Malkhed, who were again assisted by his Kanarese feudatory, Arikesarin Câlukya, as stated by the Kanarese poet Pampa.

We have thus seen that Kârtikeya whose exploits are described in the verse from Râjaśekhara's *Kâvyamîmâṁsâ* was Mahîpâla I of Kanauj. But did this king ever bring any part of the Himâlayan territory under his sway ? Professor R. D. Banerjee considered him incapable of any conquest.[14] It is no doubt true that Mahîpâla's power declined towards the end of his reign, owing probably to the conquests of Yuvarâjadeva I of Tripurî and Yaśovarman Candella. But we have no evidence to suppose that he made no conquests. On the other hand the Khajurâho inscription[15] of Yaśovarman states that Mahîpâla had secured the image of Vaikuṇṭha from a Sâhi king of Kâbul and the Panjâb on the strength of his army of horses and elephants. Râjaśekhara speaks of several wars of Mahîpâla in the following verse in the *Pracaṇḍapâṇḍava* :—

नमितमुरलमौलिः पाकलो मेकलानां रणकलितकलिङ्गः केलितट् केरलेन्दोः ।
अजनि जितकुलूतः कुन्तलानां कुठारो हठहृतरमठश्रीः श्रीमहीपालदेवः ॥

One of these wars was against the king of Kulûta. Kulûta was a kingdom on the right bank of the Sutlej, south-east of Kashmîr and north-east of Jâlandhara.[16] One of these conquests may have been described in the verse in the *Kâvyamîmâṁsâ*.

The next question that presents itself in connection with that verse is, how far is the version of the incident about Dhruvaswâminî given in that verse historical ? Professor Altekar is of opinion that the author of that verse took some liberty with history in describing it in that way. We may readily agree with him when he says that *dattvā* in that verse should be taken to mean *dātum anumatya*, for Dhruvaswâminî was never actually handed over to the enemy. Râmagupta only consented to do it as stated in the *Devî-Candragupta*. The author of that verse had to compress so much matter into four lines that he may have taken that liberty. His purpose was to bring out a contrast between the glorious success of Mahîpâla and the ignominious failure of Râmagupta, and it was immaterial whether the queen was actually handed over to the enemy or whether that calamity was averted. But in other respects the verse may be taken to state the version of the incident as it was traditionally known at the time. It would lose all its point if the incident about Dhruvaswâminî and the conquest of Mahîpâla had occurred in different places—the former at the capital of Râmagupta in the plains, and the latter in the Himâlayan hills. Besides, the context in which that verse occurs in the *Kâvyamîmâṁsâ* shows that it was based on tradition (*kathottha*). Like Bâṇa, Râjaśekhara also had historical sense. It is unlikely that he would cite a verse to illustrate how a present incident should be described by putting it in relation to a past event known from tradition, if the tradition had been materially changed or distorted in that verse.

After all, have we got incontrovertible evidence to prove that the version of the incident given in the *Kâvyamîmâṁsâ* is incorrect ? It states that Râmagupta went on an adventurous

13 The Cambay Plates of Govinda IV, *E.I.*, VII, pp. 26-47.

14 *JBORS.*, vol. XIV, p. 519.

15 कैलासाद्भोटनाथः सुहृदिति च ततः कीरराजः प्रपेदे, साहिस्तस्मादवाप द्विपतुरगबलेनानु हेरम्बपालः । तत्सूनोर्देवपालात्तमथ हयपतेः प्राप्य निन्ये प्रतिष्ठां वैकुण्ठं कुण्ठितारिः क्षितिधरतिलकः श्रीयशोवर्मराजः

16 Cf. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 162.

expedition to a Himâlayan country. His progress was checked, and he had to retreat ignominiously after handing over Dhruvaswâminî to a Khasa king. This account is not contradicted by any passages cited by Professor Altekar. None of them gives us any clue as to the scene of the incident. Professor Altekar supposes that it was in the dominions of Râmagupta, on the ground that in one of the passages Râmagupta is represented as having consented to hand over Dhruvadevî to the Śaka king for the safety of the people (*prakṛti*).[17] From the verse in the *Kâvyamîmâṁsâ*, however, it appears that Râmagupta was accompanied by his family, and possibly by his minister and other retinue, when he entered the Himâlayan country. It is these people whom Râmagupta wanted to save. In a passage from the *Devî-Candragupta* quoted in the *Śṛiṅgâraprakâśa*[18] cited by Professor Altekar the place where the incident occurred is called Alipura. As Mr. R. Sarasvati[19] has pointed out, this is corroborated by the passage in the *Harṣacarita*[20] where the reading *aripura* is evidently a mistake for *alipura*. If this view is not accepted there would be tautology in the expression *śatroh skandhâvâram alipuram*. Again, *skandhâvâra* does not necessarily denote a camp. It also means a capital.[21] So the expression can be taken to mean 'Alipura, the capital of the enemy.' This *Alipura* must have been situated somewhere in or near the ancient country of Kuluta.[22] It is also possible that the real name of the capital was Nalinapura, as stated in a manuscript of the *Harṣacarita*. If so, it may be identified with the Teng-kuang mentioned by Hsüan-tsang, which was "apparently a little to the west of the modern Jalalabad." As Watters has pointed out, one name for the city was Padmapura ('lotus city') which is only a synonym of Nalinapura. It is easy to imagine how Nalinapura was in course of time read as Alipura and then as Aripura. As we have seen above, Mahîpâla had conquered Sâhi, the king of Kâbul and the Panjâb, and forced him to surrender a beautiful image of Viṣṇu. The identification of Nalinapura with Hsüan-tsang's *Teng-kuang* is, therefore, supported by the passage in the *Kâvyamîmâṁsâ* as well.

In the *Kâvyamîmâṁsâ* the enemy who reduced Râmagupta to dire distress is called Khasa, while almost all other authorities name him Śaka. As we have seen, the author of this verse flourished in the tenth century, when the Khasas were ruling in Nepal. They are mentioned in an inscription at Khajurâho[23] as vanquished by Yaśovarman Candella. If the correct reading is Khasa, we have here an instance of anachronism, for, as Professor Altekar points out, the Khasas were not so powerful in the fourth century as to dictate terms to Râmagupta. It is, however, more likely that Śaka is the correct reading, as Râjaśekhara, who was well read, must have known this incident from the *Devî-Candragupta* and other works, and is not likely to have quoted a verse in which the tradition was distorted. In that case the Śaka enemy must have been the Kushâṇ king who is referred to as Daivaputra Shâhî Shâhânushâhî in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. We know that the Kushâṇs were ruling over the Panjâb and Kâbul till the fifth century A.D.[24]

17 प्रकृतीनामाश्वासनाय शकस्य ध्रुवदेवीसंप्रदानेऽभ्युपगते राज्ञा रामगुप्तेन अरिवधार्थं यियासुः प्रतिपन्नध्रुवदेवीनेपथ्यः कुमारचन्द्रगुप्तो विज्ञपयन्नुच्यते ।

18 स्त्रीवेषनिह्नुतश्चन्द्रगुप्तः शत्रोः स्कन्धावारमलिपुरं शकपतिवधायागमत । *I.A.*, LI, p. 183.

19 *Ibid.*

20 अरिपुरे च परकलत्रकामुकं कामिनीवेषगुप्तश्चन्द्रगुप्तः शकपतिमशातयत् ।

21 Cf. *Harṣacarita*, p. 153 (Nirṇaya Sâgara Ed.).

22 Mr. K. P. Jayasval also locates the place in the Doâb of Jâlandhara.—*JBORS.*, XVIII, p. 29.

In support of my suggestion, I may also refer to what Sir A. Cunningham wrote regarding the ancient capital of Kuluta in his *Ancient Geography of India* (p. 163):—"The present capital of the valley is Sultânpur; but the old capital of Makarsa is still called Nagar, or the city, by which name it is most generally known."

23 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 188.

24 *E. I.*, I, p. 222.

Let us next consider the objection that Professor Altekar has raised against the above identification. He says: "Chandragupta II must have taken the first opportunity to retrieve the honour of his house by destroying or at least defeating the Kushans............... But are there any indications of Chandragupta II having led any military expedition in the Punjab. None whatsoever." But this absence of evidence is at best a negative argument, and is not conclusive. Unfortunately we have very little knowledge of the events in Candragupta's reign. He may, for all we know, have proceeded against the Kushâṇ king and reduced him to submission but spared his life, as later on Harṣa seems to have done in the case of Śaśâṅka. There is no evidence to suppose that the war against the Satraps of Ujjayini was the first campaign in which he was engaged. We know that the Satraps continued to rule in Mâlwâ till 388 A.D. at least, i.e., for more than ten years after Candragupta's accession. During this period he may have been occupied other places e.g., in the Panjâb and Kashmîr, subjugating the Kushâṇs. It is noteworthy that the minister Âmrakârdava, who made a gift to the Buddhist monastery at Sâñchî, describes himself as अनेकसमरावाप्तयशस्पताकः[25] The many battles in which he had won renown were not evidently all of them fought in Mâlwâ.

I have thus tried to prove that

(1) King Kârtikeya to whom the verse दत्त्वा रुद्धगति, etc., is addressed was Mahîpâla I of the Gurjara Pratihâra dynasty of Kanauj;

(2) The incident of the surrender of Dhruvasvâminî occurred either near the Jâlandhar Doâb or near Jalâlâbâd.

(3) The Śaka enemy who reduced Râmagupta to such plight was the Kushâṇ king who ruled over the Panjâb and Kâbul.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF ÎŚOPANIṢAD.

BY PROF. F. OTTO SCHRADER, PH.D., KIEL.

"No knowledge without virtue" may possibly be the thesis propounded in the conclusion of Kena Upaniṣad[1]; yet it is Îśâ Upaniṣad that first deliberately teaches the *samuccaya* doctrine. The importance, however, of this precious little text for the history of Indian thought is still greater in that it is also the first gospel of that *karma-yoga* which is often erroneously believed to have appeared with the Bhagavadgîtâ only.

Karmayoga is clearly taught in verses 1 and 2 of this Upaniṣad. These verses (as also 9 to 11; see f.-n. 29) are a protest against that well-known growing tendency of the Upaniṣads to denounce acts as a hindrance to liberation. Acts, says our Upaniṣad, should be done by all means (*kurvann eveha*), and life may even be enjoyed (*bhuñjîthâḥ*), supposing we renounce *ahaṃkâra* (instead of the acts) by constantly realizing that the Lord is in everything. *Tena tyaktena* is one of the rare absolute instrumentals occurring in Sanskrit literature (see Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 372). and it means "by renouncing it (the world, *jagat*)," viz., in favour of the idea that the world is entirely God's.[2] This meaning persists, however we explain *îśâvâsyam*. It is emphasized by the second half of 2 which I understand thus: *evam eva na cânyathetaḥ* "*na karma lipyate nare*" *iti tvayy asti*, i.e., "In this very way, and not by any method different from this, it (the teaching) does hold true with thee that *karman*

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25 V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 290.

1 Belvalkar, History of Indian Philosophy, vol. II, p. 177.

2 Two commentaries (viz., Anantâcârya's and Bâlakṛṣṇadâsa's, which together with that of Râmacandra I consider the best on Îśa Up.), explain *tena* by *îśâ*, and *tyaktena* by *dattena*, with *dhanena* understood. This is, no doubt, a very tempting suggestion, because it facilitates the connection with the following pâda (*ito 'dhikaṃ mâ gṛdhaḥ*, A.); but this meaning of *tyaj* is unfamiliar to the older as well as the later Upaniṣads.

does not adhere to the soul."[3] This need not be a wholesale condemnation of the fourth âśrama, but it clearly dispenses with it as a *conditio sine qua non* of liberation.

Îśâvâsyam may be either *îśâ* + *vâsyam* or *îśâ* + *âvâsyam*. In the former case the underlying root could only be *vas* " to put on, to wear (a garment) " and not *vas* " to dwell " which is intransitive and would require a locative (absent in our passage).[4] *Vâsyam*, again, cannot be a simple gerundive, because *vas âcchâdane* has no non-causal passive forms,[5] but must be a gerundive of the causal; and thus *îśâ vâsyam idaṃ sarvam* could only mean " All this is to be clothed with God," i.e., by the imagination of the adept.[6] However, *vas âcchâdane*, both with and without one of the dozen or so prepositions it may take, is conspicuous by its absence in the Upaniṣads[7] where its meaning is always expressed by other verbs, such as *paridhâ*, *âcchad*, *sampracchad*. And so there remains as the most likely padaccheda *îśâ*+*âvâsyam* and the meaning " to be inhabited by the Lord ", i.e., " to be looked at the Lord's abode ". The meaning would also result in the compound *Îśâvâsyam-îśasyâvasayogyam*[8]. The pantheistic idea expressed here of God being in everything is of course well-known from innumerable passages (such as those on the *antaryâmin*), while the more philosophical idea of the world being enveloped by, i.e., contained in God may be instanced by the phrase *viśvasyaikaṃ pariveṣṭitâram* occurring thrice in Śvetâśvatara Up. and by the epithets *viśvâvâsa* and *jagannivâsa*. That both ideas (*sarveṣu bhûteṣu tiṣṭhan* ; *âtmani sarvâṇi bhûtâni*) were perfectly familiar to the author of our Upaniṣad, is clear from his giving them side by side in stanza 5 (*tad antar asya sarvasya tad u sarvasyâsya bâhyataḥ*), and once more in stanza 6.

Stanza 3 is evidently directed against materialists and atheists. This stanza is connected, by way of contrast, with stanza 6 (note the *tu*). The intervening two stanzas (4 and 5), with other metres, are consequently quotations and may have been interpolated by a later hand.

One more quotation (but hardly interpolation) seems to be stanza 8, where the omission of one word (*yâthâtathyataḥ*) and the reading *vyadhât* (comp. *paryagât*) for the ill-suited imperfect *vyadadhât* would heal the metre, though merely as to the number of syllables. Here Śaṅkara takes *paryagât* in the intransitive sense (*samantâd agât, âkâśavad vyâpîty arthaḥ*), and he declares *śukram*, etc., to be neuters (in the nominative) which, however, should be understood as masculines (!) : " He (the *âtman* mentioned in 7) is all-pervading, is the pure one . . . . ; (he) the *kavi* . . . . has allotted . . . . " . A partial improvement on this interpretation is Râmacandra's who, while accepting *paryagât*=*jagad vyâpyâsît*, takes

[3] The word *asti*, though spoiling the metre, has a function here ; it may but need not have crept into the text from a gloss.

[4] Only with one of the prepositions *upa, anu, adhi, â* it becomes a transitive verb with its adhikaraṇa in the accusative (Pâṇini I, 4, 48).—The Vedic root *vas* " to shine " (comp. *uṣas* and, probably, *vâsudeva*) with its causal *vâsayati* and also the denominative *vâsayati* " to perfume " (from *vâsa* " perfume ") may be left out of account here. The latter would, indeed, give a good meaning (essentially agreeing with our own conclusion), but it is (as the doubtful form *vâsyanti*, Kṣurikâ Up. 19) rather too late for our Upaniṣad.

[5] Except *vasita* and *vasitavya*, which, however, occur in the epics only (see Whitney, " Roots ").

[6] *Vaste* being Âtmanepada, its causal *vâsayati* really means " to cause (somebody) to dress himself " and should, therefore, be expected to be construed like *vaste*, i.e., with the accusative of the thing to be put on (*vastraṃ vaste*). But this construction is confined to its literal sense (as found, e.g., in Manu VIII, 396). More frequent, from Ṛgvedic times, is *vâsayati* " to clothe with, to envelop in " (Âtm. : " to clothe one's self ") construed with the accusative of the direct and the instrumental of the remote object (see Petersburg Dictionary, s.v.).

[7] Colonel Jacob's Concordance has for it the sole passage *îśâvâsyam* which should not be there.

[8] The verb *âvas* occurs also in Chândogya Up. V, 10, 9 and, later than Îśâ Up., in Nâdabindu, etc. It has been recognized in our passage, so far as I know, only by Bâlakṛṣṇadâsa (a follower of Nimbârka). Other commentators speak, indeed, also of *vasa nivâse*, but, instead of thinking of the preposition, give no further explanation or a forced one, e.g , by means of *bâhulaka*.

śukram, etc., as true neuters (*yad brahma paryagât . . . .*), but connects ***saḥ*** with ***kaviḥ***, etc., as referring to the same Brahma in its aspect as the personal Îśvara. Another improvement would seem to be possible by looking at *śukram*, etc., as adverbs ; but considering the sparing use made of adverbs in Sanskrit it must be doubted that the passage has ever been understood in this way. On the other hand we may, as most commentators do, understand *śukram*, etc., as accusatives dependent on *paryagât* conceived transitively with the âtmavid of the preceding stanza as its subject. As a matter of fact, *parigâ* (as also *parigam*) cannot be shown to have ever been employed without an object (excepting only the post-Christian *parigata* " spread out, diffused "), and Śaṅkara's forced explanation, as any others based on it, must therefore be rejected. It is clear, moreover, that for fixing the meaning of an Upaniṣad passage no commentator can be more authoritative for us than the oldest traceable paraphrase of it in the Upaniṣads themselves, i.e., in our case, Bṛhadâraṇyaka Up. IV, 4, 13 : *yasyânuvittaḥ pratibuddha âtmâ . . . . sa viśvakṛt sa hi sarvasya kartâ . . . .* [9]). Still, such constructions as in Râmacandra's second suggestion, viz., *yaḥ sukram . . . . brahma paryagât sarvabhâvena jñâtavân . . . . sa brahmajñaḥ kaviḥ . . . .* , are certainly not admissible. But we need only turn to another Upaniṣad for the definite solution of our problem. Kâṭhaka Up. V, 8, which is evidently the source of our passage, runs : *ya eṣa supteṣu jâgarti kâmaṃ kâmaṃ nirmimâṇaḥ tad eva śukraṃ tad brahma*, etc.[10] Here we have the neuter noun *śukra ;* here we have the masculine corresponding with the neuter (*yaḥ . . . tad*)[11] ; and here we have the correspondence with *arthân vyadadhât*. I, therefore, regard *yâthâtathyato 'rthân* as corrupted (through a gloss) from *yo 'rthân*, because the omission of the relative pronoun is utterly improbable here, and construe : *yaḥ kavir . . . . arthân vyadhât* (for *vyadadhât* ; see above) (*tat*) *śukram akâyam . . . . apâpaviddhaṃ sa* (*âtmavit*) *paryagât*, i.e. : " He has reached the bodiless . . . . Essence[12] (which is also) the . . . Sage who has allotted . . . "[13].

For the interpretation of stanzas 9 to 11 and 12 to 14 first of all four general points have to be noticed, viz. (1) that the two triplets are meant to be exactly parallel ; (2) that the four terms *vidyâ*, etc., are all of them ambiguous, and that, therefore, though in 9 and 10 and in 12 and 13, respectively, they are, of course, used in the same sense, they **may** be used in a different sense in 11 and 14, respectively ; (3) that in the second half of 11 and 14, respectively, the gerund is more likely to mean simultaneousness than previousness, because the two phrases *mṛtyuṃ tarati* and *amṛtam aśnute* are generally used without a shade of difference in the Indian religious language ; and (4) that by the word *anyad* in 10 and 13 more likely than not the same reference is intended as by *tad* in 11 and 14.

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9 The use made of Îśâ Up. in Bṛhadâraṇyaka Up. IV, 4, 10 ff., is quite evident : after stanza 10, which is identical with Îśâ 9, and stanza 11, which is Îśâ 3 slightly modified, there follows 12 which is essentially the same as Iśâ 7, and then, with the same metrical change as in Îśâ Up. from the anuṣṭubh to the triṣṭubh, the paraphrase referred to above of Îśâ 8. Finally, there is a correspondence in both the meaning and the last three words of stanza 15 with Îśâ 6. Bṛhadâranyaka Up. is as a whole of course older than Îśâ Up., but the whole section IV, 4, 8-21 introduced by *tad ete ślokâ bhavanti* is evidently a mere medley of quotations (modified or not) from Îśâ, Kena, Kâṭhaka and one or two unknown texts.

10 Note the celebrity of the phrase *tad eva śukraṃ* ***tad brahma***. It is repeated in Kâṭhaka Up. VI, 1, and Śvetâśvatara IV, 2, and also used in Mahânârâyaṇa I, 7, Maitrâyaṇa VI, 24 and 35, and (with the puruṣa placed above brahma, as in Bhag. Gîtâ XIV, 3) in Muṇḍaka III, 2, 1.

11 Comp. Kâṭhaka Up. VI, 17 : *taṃ vidyâc chukram amṛtam*. Considering the mahâvâkya *ayam âtmâ brahma* it is strange that Śaṅkara could not avoid having recourse to liṅgavyatyaya.

12 Or " Light " ; comp. Bâlakṛṣṇadâsa : *śukraṃ viśvabîjaṃ tejaḥ.*

13 Instead of the neuters we could, of course, have masculines by regarding *śukram* as an adjective and supplying *tam* (or *îśvaram* or *paramâtmânam*) instead of *tat*. But the series of epithets used here is of the kind found generally with the neuter *brahman* or *akṣara* only, and the Upaniṣads distinguish between *śukra*, which is a noun, and *śukla*, which is an adjective.—It must also be doubted that the advaitic turn of Bṛhadâraṇyaka Up. IV, 4, 13 (see above) is in agreement with the (more theistic) spirit of Îśâ Up.

Now, from (1) it follows that *vidyayâ* and *avidyayâ*, respectively, of stanza 10, which are parallel to *sambhavât* and *asambhavât* in 13, have been preferred here merely for the sake of the metre to *vidyâyâḥ* and *avidyâyâḥ*, respectively (which are, indeed, the Mâdhyandina readings), and that it is wrong, therefore, and unnecessary to assume with Prof. Deussen "a bold ellipsis." We have here the instrumental of comparison which, though absent from classical Sanskrit, is known from archaic and epical literature.[14] Our third point also is in conformity with actual usage, as every Sanskritist knows. The two remaining points will come out in the course of our inquiry.

Of the two triplets, the one on *sambhûti* and *asambhûti* is the less problematical, because it gives us synonyms, and we may, therefore, expect to facilitate our further task by taking it up first. In doing so we follow the Mâdhyandina recension, which has the two triplets in the reverse order to that found with the Kâṇvas and in most editions of the Upaniṣad. Which order is the original one can, of course, if at all, not be decided as long as we are in doubt as to the original meaning of the stanzas.[15]

In my opinion stanzas 12 to 14 Kâṇva counting refer to the nature of the Absolute (*brahma-svarûpa*) or, respectively, the condition of the liberated. They are an answer to the doubt expressed in Kâṭhaka Up. I, 29 : *yeyaṃ prete vicikitsâ manuṣye : astîty eke nâyam astîti caike.*[16] The Absolute, says st. 13, is different from both *sambhava* "existence" and *asambhava* "non-existence."[17] which can only mean that in regard to the common meaning of the word existence (*jâyate 'sti vardhate vipariṇamate 'pakṣîyate naśyati*) the Absolute is neither (merely) "existent" nor (merely) "non-existent." Accordingly, in st. 12 those may be meant who (without being materialists[18]) adhere to (*upâsate*) some sort of śûnyavâda,[19] and (2) those one-sided pantheists who believe God to be the world and nothing more.[20] Stanza 14,

[14] See Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 107, and compare especially the instrumental connected with the Vedic preposition *paras* "beyond" (e.g., in *paro mâtrayâ*) and with *anyatra* "except" in Buddhist Sanskrit (and in Pâli), with *bhidyate* "keeps aloof from," and (occasionally) with *adhika* ; also the instrumental with *sama, samâna*, etc.

[15] It might be conjectured that either recension had originally but one triplet, viz., the one te which it now gives the first place ; that is to say, that the Upaniṣad started with a single triplet ; that this was modified in a later school ; and that finally either school added to its triplet the one of the other school. But this is such a complicated hypothesis that it could be only accepted if we had still a trace of this evolution, e.g., if manuscripts of one of the two recensions would have but one triplet, which is not the case.

[16] Which passage does not refer to ordinary death, as Śaṅkara would make us believe, but (as already noticed by Deussen) to what the Upaniṣad calls the Great Passage (*mahân sâmparâyaḥ*), viz., from the saṃsâra to what is beyond it. See B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma's paper "A Critique of Śankara's Rendering Yeyam prete" in the Annamalai University Journal, vol. I, No. 2.

[17] *Sambhava* means, indeed, "birth, production," etc., but then also "existence" in a quite general sense, as can be proved by many passages. *Sambhûti*, again, means primarily "birth, origin," etc., but in the Brâhmaṇa period also "growth, increase" and thus may also stand for existence generally.

[18] Materialists are, no doubt, the *âtmahano janâh* of st. 3, the *vittamohena mûdhâh* of Kâṭhaka Up. II, 6 (comp. Îśâ Up. 1 : *mâ gṛdhaḥ kasyasvid dhanam*). For, to them our Upaniṣad holds out the *asuryâ lokâḥ* ; and the Asura, as is well known, is the typical materialist denying immortality in any sense : "*ayam loko, nâsti parah*" *iti mânî* (Kâṭhaka Up. II, 6 ; comp. Bhag. Gîtâ XVI, 8 and 20).

[19] Comp. Bâlakṛṣṇadâsa : *ye . . . . prapañcâbhâvaṃ brahmâbhyupagacchanti te andhaṃ tamaḥ praviśanti . . . . | na hi kevalaviśvâbhâvâtmakaṃ brahma kiṃtu brahmaiva svaśaktyâ nânâkâram avalambate.* The present-day Southern Buddhists seeing only the negative side of Nirvâṇa also belong to this class.

[20] I. e. : who do not see that God is also *sarvasyâsya bâhyatah*, viz., with his transcendent "three quarters." They are worse than the assambhûti-upâsakas, because they confine God to his worldly "quarter." Bâlakṛṣṇa is inconsistent here in explaining : *ye sambhûtyâm utpattyâm ratâh kâryamâtram eva vastu manyante na kâraṇarûpam iti.* Considering his definition of the asambhûtivâda he ought to have said : *ye śaktirûpam eva vastu manyante śaktimân parameśvaro nâstîty avadhârayantaḥ.* For, even materialism, excepting perhaps its crudest form, admits of some sort of *kâraṇarûpaṃ vastu* (*svabhâva*). —To understand with Śaṅkara and most other commentators *asambhûti* as the *avyâkṛtâ prakṛti* (whose worshippers are the akṣara-upâsakas of Bhag. Gîtâ XII) is tempting, indeed ; but then *sambhûti* must be explained as God Brahmâ (so Śaṅkara) or the devas, which is far from convincing and moreover renders st. 14 unintelligible.

finally, holds out liberation to those who understand the teaching of st. 13: they are liberated through *vinâśa* or becoming non-existent to the world and through *sambhûti* or becoming existent as to their true nature.[21]

Turning hence to the second triplet (the first in the current editions), I shall begin by trying to explain it as immediately connected with the first, i.e., as referring to one more problem of the very nature of the first but subsidiary to it and therefore dealt with in the second place only in the Mâdhyandina (=original ?) recension. I mean the problem raised, in Bṛhadâraṇyaka Up. II, 4, 12, by Yâjñavalkya's statement *na pretya saṃjñâsti*. It is clear that here again not ordinary death is the topic, but the "Great Departure" of the liberated. Now, does this event mean cessation of consciousness in the absolute sense ? Undoubtedly not a few philosophers have understood it like that, though, as a rule, without denying the post-mortem existence of the liberated. I need only mention the *jaḍâtmavâda* attributed to the Mîmâṃsakas and others, and the *asaññivâda* recorded among other heresies in Pâli texts; and even in Buddhism itself the death of the liberated implies the complete cessation of consciousness. But Yâjñavalkya did not understand it in this way. For him the liberated becomes so to speak **superconscious**: he loses what we understand by consciousness and obtains instead the "mere" or unlimited consciousness of the One which, being "without a second," can have no objects of consciousness. And after Y. also all Vedântic systems agree in teaching that in final death limited consciousness is exchanged for unlimited consciousness. Assuming, then, for the moment that *vidyâ* can, and in our triplet does, mean consciousness, everything is clear: the Absolute is different from both consciousness and unconsciousness, i.e., in the usual meaning of these words (st. 10); a man believing it to be unconscious will sink down in the saṃsâra, while the one who believes it to be conscious (and thus not the Absolute but only a highest person) will sink to still deeper depths (st. 9); but he who understands the teaching of st. 10 (excluding from God, the superconscious, both unconsciousness and limited consciousness) will "cross death" through the loss of his individual consciousness and "enjoy immortality" through superconsciousness (st. 11).

This interpretation of the vidyâ-avidyâ triplet is, apart from its starting-point,[22] essentially that of Bâlakṛṣṇa, who, while explaining the vidyâ-upâsakas to be those who look at their Self as an object of knowledge (*svâtmânaṃ jñânaviṣayatvenopâsate*), declares the avidyâ-upâsakas to be such people as *avidyâṃ jñânâbhâvam âtmânam upâsate*, the result being some sort of śûnyavâda or jaḍâtmavâda. For, an âtman that has no other than the empirical consciousness (*vidyâṃ=pramâṇaprameyâdivyavahâram*, B.) belongs through it to the world of experience. But can *vidyâ* mean "consciousness" ? This meaning is not known to me from any other passage; yet, considering the fluctuating use, in the older and even later language, of most words denoting "to know" or "knowledge"[23]. I consider it possible, indeed, that our poet has here taken the liberty to make *vidyâ* a synonym of *saṃvid*.

21 Change of term or meaning, respectively, in third stanza of triplet (see above, p. 207, last para): "becoming non-existent" (*vinâśa*) for "*non-existence*" (*asambhûti*), and "becoming existent" (*sambhûti*) for "existence" (do.).—All commentators understand *saha* as one word. But, the particle *ha* "verily, indeed" being exceedingly frequent in the older language, we should rather read *sa ha*.

22 Which is with B.: *yan manasâ na manute* (Kena Up. 5).

23 Reminding one of the English "to know" which means both German *erkennen* and *wissen*, to come to know and to have a knowledge of. Sanskrit *vid* also, though generally used as a present perfect, may as well mean to come to know, to become aware, to be conscious; compare, e.g., the frequent *vidâṃ cakâra*, or Bṛhadâraṇyaka Up. I, 3, 2 *te 'viduh*, or ibid. IV, 3, 21 *na bâhyaṃ kiṃcana veda nântaram* "is not conscious of anything external or internal."

There is a passage in the Ânandavallî of the Taittirîya Up., viz., its sixth anuvâka and beginning of the seventh, which so strikingly approaches the view I have taken above of the two triplets that I cannot help reproducing it here in full: *asann eva sa bhavati asad brahmeti veda cet | asti brahmeti ced veda santam enaṃ tato vidur iti ||* (comp. Îśâ 12-13). (*tasyaiṣa eva śarîra âtmâ*) (interpolation), *athâto 'nupraśnaḥ* (a "subsidiary problem," see above, p. 209) | *utâvidvân* (i.e., as one without consciousness) *amuṃ lokaṃ pretya kaścana gacchati | âho vidvân* (as a conscious being) *amuṃ lokaṃ pretya kaścit samaśnutâ u* ||[24]) *so 'kâmayata bahu syâṃ prajâyeyeti | sa tapas taptvâ idaṃ sarvam asṛjata yad idam kiṃca* (comp. Îśâ 1a-b) | *tat sṛṣṭvâ tad evânu prâviśat* (comp. Îśâ 1a : *Îśâvâsyam*) | *tad anu praviśya sac ca tyac câbhavat* (i.e., both prapañca and prapañcâbhâva, nature and the supernatural, not merely one of them; comp. Îśâ 13) *niruktaṃ câniruktaṃ ca nilayanaṃ cânilayanaṃ ca vijñânaṃ câvijñânaṃ ca* (consciousness and unconsciousness=ordinary and transcendent consciousness; comp. Îśâ 10) *satyaṃ cânṛtaṃ ca* (explanation follows) | *satyam abhavat* (i.e. :) *yad idaṃ kiṃca* (viz., the prapañca; see above) *tat satyam* (empirical reality) *ity âcakṣate* (and, consequently, *anṛtam=asat*=the supernatural) | *tad apy eṣa śloko bhavati | asad vâ idam agra âsît, tato vai sad ajâyata* (i.e. : *sambhava* from *asambhava*, the supernatural being the non-existent from the worldly point of view) | , etc.[25])

It now remains to be seen whether in the Kâṇva text the different position of the triplets may not be an indication of their having from the start been understood there in a different way. One thing, I believe, is certain, viz., that here not the same sort of logical sequence (confirmed by Taitt. Up.) as in the Mâdhyandina text can be established. With the Mâdhyandinas both triplets belong to metaphysics; with the Kâṇvas the second (on *sambhûti*, etc.), whatever it may mean there,[26] can also only belong to this province, but the first may well for them have always had an ethical rather than metaphysical bearing. For, the very fact that the vidyâ-avidyâ triplet stands first here seems to exclude from it a meaning of these terms which cannot (as it can in the Mâdhyandina text) be derived or guessed from the preceding verses. Here, then, *vidyâ* and *avidyâ* were in all likelihood understood in a less uncommon sense which might even have come in vogue already in the Mâdhyandina school as an optional explanation. For, it was well-nigh inevitable that the triplet came to be referred to "knowledge" and "ignorance," or parâ vidyâ and aparâ vidyâ, or karman, respectively, and so it is, indeed, understood in all commentaries preserved to us (with the sole exception of Bâlakṛṣṇadâsa's, so far as I know) in spite of the difficulty arising from *anyad* in st. 10 for which in this case some other word than *brahma* must be supplied.

This view of the triplet can be substantiated by several Upaniṣads. Kâṭhaka Up. speaks of *vidyâ* and *avidyâ* as "widely different" (II, 4) and understands by *vidyâ* that "wisdom" (*prajñâna*. II, 24), i.e., *âtmavidyâ*, which cannot be gained by *tarka* (II, 9), *pravacana*, *medhâ*, and *bahuśruta* (II, 23); and it calls *avidyâ* the ignorance of the sensualist

24 It is not possible here to understand *vidvân* and *avidvân* in the ordinary sense, because we have every reason to assume that at the time of Taitt. Up. the necessity of jñâna for mokṣa was no longer questioned by anybody, the problem being only whether karman too was necessary, and how long. Moreover the context shows that *vijñânam* (line 11) can only mean consciousness, as in śloka 2 (quotation!) of Taitt. Up. II, 5, the parallelism of which with verse 3 of our triplet is evident.

25 It is hardly possible to make out the age of this section in relation to Îśâ Up. I am inclined to believe that these anuvâkas are earlier than Îśâ Up. (though not, perhaps, as a part of Taitt Up.), but Dr. Belvalkar classifies them (Taitt. Up. II, 6-8) as a late interpolation in the Ânandavallî, which, as a whole, he is probably right in regarding as posterior to Îśâ Up. (*Hist. of Ind. Phil.*, vol. II, pp. 98 and 135).

26 Possibly it meant the same with them, originally, as with the Mâdhyandinas; but see the commentaries. How enigmatic the whole Upaniṣad had become also to the Mâdhyandinas is shown by Mahîdhara's constant alternative explanations. I do not propose to discuss here the various views about the triplet. Not one of them gives complete satisfaction. Mahîdhara, e.g., starts with the seemingly excellent idea of understanding *asambhûti* as a denial of reincarnation (which, by the way, does not exclude the belief in a continuance after death), but then finds himself compelled to explain *sambhûti* as the âtman!

(II, 4; *vittamohena mûḍhaḥ* II, 6, the *kâmakâmin* of Bhag. Gîtâ II, 70), who prefers enjoyment to spiritual welfare (*preyas* to *śreyas*, II, 2), and the mock-wisdom of philosophical materialism (II, 5-6). So also Maitrâyaṇa Up. (VIII, 9) calls *avidyâ* or "false learning" the doctrine imparted to the Asuras by Bṛhaspati (Śukra). Muṇḍaka Up. understands by *avidyâ* (I, 2, 8-9) the *aparâ vidyâ* of the Karmakâṇḍa (I, 1, 4-5), speaks with contempt of the pious vaidikas (I, 2, 1-10, source of Bhag. Gîtâ II, 42 ff.), and denies brahmaloka to be accessible through karman (*nâsty akṛtaḥ kṛtena*, I, 2, 12)—which seems to be the very attitude declined in Îśâ Up. 2. *Vidyâ* appears in Muṇḍaka Up. as *samyag-jñâna* (III, 1, 5). In Kena Up. also *vidyâ* is *âtmavidyâ* (12), and this higher wisdom is expressly stated to be different from empirical knowledge (3 and 11).[27]

On this basis, then, we have the choice of understanding *vidyâ* and *avidyâ* either as *âtmavidyâ* and any other *vidyâ* (orthodox or heterodox), or (viz., *abrâhmaṇavat*, Anantâcârya) as *âtmavidyâ* and *karman*. But, since in those texts *vidyâ*, as *contrasted* with *avidyâ*, means always *âtma-* or *brahma-vidyâ* only, we are **N o t** at liberty to understand by it, as Śankara does, the polytheistic theology (*devatâviṣayaṃ jñânam*) which he contrasts here as a higher science (*vidyâ*) with the sacrificial or lower science (*avidyâ*) with which it is connected. For, the sacred text he refers to for it (viz., *vidyayâ tad ârohanti | vidyayâ devalokaḥ | na tatra dakṣiṇâ yanti | karmaṇâ pitṛlokaḥ*) does not support his view, because *devaloka*, as the terminus of the devayâna, is in the older Upaniṣads the world "from which there is no return," as is clear from even the quotation itself; and we cannot help admitting that the conjunction impossible except for a fool, according to Śankara, of the knowledge of the Absolute with any other knowledge or with karman[28] has actually been performed by the author of our Upaniṣad who was hardly a fool, though a strong advocate of that very theory of jñânakarmasamuccaya so passionately combated in the later Advaita. We may, however, concede to Śankara that a juxtaposition of what is *phalavat* and *aphalavat* (karman and vidyâ) is not likely in a passage like ours. But this leads us just to deny that the noun to be supplied for *anyad* in st. 10 is *phalaṃ*. *Phalam* is unlikely also because of the forced construction it demands (ellipsis), *avidâ* and *vidyâ*, being not themselves *phala* or not *phala* but only productive or not productive of such. Curiously enough, this has been overlooked by all except Kûranârâyaṇa, a follower of Râmânuja, who supplies the word *mokṣa-sâdhanam* which is, indeed, quite acceptable. One more supplement, viz., *kevalam*, for both *vidyâ* and *avidyâ*, is employed by all commentators, and this is really indispensable for making sense of the triplet. Now, *vidyâ* being *âtma-* or *brahmavidyâ*, *avidyâ* must be either non-Vedântic philosophy or *karman* (with the science relating thereto); and, as liberation is in our Upaniṣad taught to result from *vidyâ* and *avidyâ* **C o m b i n e d**, this combination can with a champion for *karman* not well be one of brahmavidyâ and ânvîkṣikî, or the like, but only the well-known one of the jñâna- and the karma-kâṇḍa. And so we may now explain the triplet as follows.

The Upaniṣad, as already stated, begins with a vigorous protest against naiṣkarmya. After dealing, as equally necessary, in stanzas 1 and 2 with the Way of Works and in 3 to 8 with the Way of Knowledge it takes up their mutual relation in the triplet on *vidyâ* and *avidyâ*. Those who neglect or reject *vidyâ*, it says, are condemned to darkness (low births), and those who pride themselves with *vidyâ*, rejecting Action, are condemned to still greater darkness (9), because they are worse than the man who has no knowledge but does his duty.[29]

27 Kena Up. 3 and 12 seem to correct Îśâ Up. by removing the instrumentals of st. 10 and the apparent obscurity of st. 11, but the third and fourth khaṇḍa of Kena Up. are undoubtedly prior to Îśâ Up. The chronological relation of Kâṭhaka and Muṇḍaka to Îśâ Up. is not clear (Dr. Belvalkar thinks they are later); Maitrâyaṇa Up. is, of course, later.

28 *Yad atmaikatvavijñânaṃ tan na kenacit karmaṇâ jñânântareṇa vâ hy amûḍhah samuccicîṣati.*

29 The preference given here to the avidyâ-upâsaka is in conformance with the polemical attitude taken from the outset by our author.

Neither by caraṇa alone nor by vidyâ alone can the goal be reached (10), but he who recognizes and practises both until his end, is by both together released from rebirth (11).

There is in the Viṣṇu-Purâṇa (VI, 6) a remarkable story (referred to by Râmânuja in his Śrîbhâṣya) which makes use, though not saying so, of the triplet as explained above. There were two kings, we are told, called Khâṇḍikya and Keśidhvaja, of whom the former was a great authority in the karmamârga, while the latter was well-versed in âtmavidyâ. But Keśidhvaja wanted liberation and for this purpose took also to sacrifices (*iyâja so 'pi subahûn yajñân*), viz., in order to "*brahmavidyâm adhiṣṭhâya tartuṃ mṛtyum avidyayâ.*" At one time, being at a loss concerning a prâyaścitta, he asked for and obtained instruction from Khâṇḍikya, whom he then, at his request, rewarded with âtmavidyâ in the place of a dakṣiṇâ, and so at last both of them were in possession of the twofold means of liberation.[30]

I said that in the Kâṇva recension the connection of the first with the second triplet is less evident than with the Mâdhyandinas. Still, here also the connection can be easily established, viz., by means of the question whether the double effort expected of the mumukṣu in the first triplet is really worth being made, if it results in a state which according to some philosophers is tantamount to non-existence.

To return now to the problem of the different position of the triplets in the two recensions, I would say that this discrepancy is less difficult to be accounted for on the supposition that the Mâdhyandina text is the older one.[31] For, then we could assume that the position of the triplets was intentionally reversed by the Kâṇvas, because of the greater importance they attached to the vidyâ-avidyâ triplet in the sense in which they understood it, after the original meaning had been forgotten or put in the shade by the new one. On the other hand there is this to be said in favour of the Kâṇva text, that in it the position and meaning of the said triplet is in harmony with what seems to be the principal object of the author of the Upaniṣad, viz., the inculcation of samuccaya[32] ; and that, looked at from this point of view, the position of the triplets as found with the Kâṇvas might appear to be the original one, as it could here be accounted for by the author's wish to deal first with the practical, and for him more important, problem of the mokṣasâdhana before dealing with a merely theoretical doubt. In this case, then, the Mâdhyandinas, without (rather than with) changing the meaning of the vidyâ-avidyâ triplet, would have reversed the position of the triplets in favour of what appeared to them the more logical order. There is, however, one serious drawback in this second hypothesis, viz., its inability to refer the words *anyad* and *tad* occurring in both triplets to one and the same word and the only one which can be supplied for them without difficulty and from the wording of the Upaniṣad itself. The first impression of the unbiassed reader, and the last after having carefully examined everything implied, must, in my opinion, inevitably be that both these words in either triplet cannot originally refer to anything else but the Absolute (the brahman called *tad* in st. 4 and 5, and *śukram* in 8). The Absolute—our author meant to say—is neither merely existent and conscious nor merely non-existent or unconscious (st. 10 and 13), but is rather both (st. 11 and 14), viz., the latter from the worldly point of view and the former in a higher (metaphysical) sense, i.e., within its own realm which is not really accessible to definitions (*yato vâco nivartante*).

30 The point of the story has been entirely missed by Prof. Wilson, because he was not aware of its source.

31 That is to say, in this particular point, but not necessarily as regards the readings *vidyâyâḥ* and *avidyâyâḥ*.

32 Note the emphasis laid once more on works in the concluding section of the Upaniṣad (st. 17).

A COMPARISON BETWEEN SIGNS OF THE 'INDUS SCRIPT' AND SIGNS IN THE *CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM ETRUSCARUM*.

BY DR. GIUSEPPE PICCÒLI.

As Orientalists are aware, there has been discovered, up to April 1931, in the basin of the Indus, at Mohenjodâro[1] and Harappâ, an ancient script in syllabic writing. I propose to show that certain characteristic signs recurring in this script will be seen to be identical with those found on various Etruscan utensils and monumental remains.

For the present we shall consider all those puzzling signs, which, while not identified with the elements of any Etruscan alphabet, can be compared with similar signs in the records of the Indus script, as also those characters and initial letters of typical Etruscan alphabets which are found in the Indus script. It will be well to note, in advance, that in the case of the Etruscan remains the signs are generally found isolated, on the inside, on the edges or on the bases of the bowls, cups, pottery vases or other objects pertaining to the tombs. The same signs or marks appear, moreover, at the top and at the foot of epigraphs, on tomb covers, on small clay pyramids, on partition walls (e.g., in the Cavone di Fantibassi), and, finally, on the squared blocks of travertin of the Etruscan walls of Perugia.

With these prefatory remarks, we may turn to the comparative tables, A and B, reproduced on the annexed Plate, in which are shown those signs of the Indus script[2] (col. A) which in their forms and arrangement recall corresponding signs in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum*[3] (col. B). The identity of the signs in the two columns is clear and definite, inasmuch as the correspondence between them is remarkable. Possibly the solution of some Etruscan problem may provide a more reasonable explanation than that the resemblance is a purely fortuitous coincidence.

Let us now compare individual signs of the CIE. (which have been indicated by Arabic numerals only) with signs of the Indus script (indicated by Roman numerals). Rather than follow a purely consecutive order, I shall follow the criterion of greater rareness or singularity, some of the Etruscan signs standing out as peculiar and not represented in any hitherto known ancient alphabet. But first of all, attention may be drawn to the theory of the introduction by the Etruscans[4] into Latium of the Greek alphabet of the Chalcidian Ionians. Since the classical tradition tells us of two types of Greek alphabets, characterised respectively by their similarity to, or dissimilarity from, the Phœnician and Pelasgian alphabets, it remains to decide which of these two types of Greek alphabet it is that the Etruscans handed down to us. Perchance the signs of our Indus script may be able to give us some enlightenment in this connexion. It should be noted as not irrelevant to our investigation that the latter script has come to light from the 'Indus Valley Civilization,' in which peoples of various races and cultures must have come together, among whom were also people of 'Mediterranean Race.'[5] There have, further, been discovered there a variety of relics of inestimable value for the study of Egyptian, Babylonian, etc., cultures, as may be seen from the shrewd observations of the eminent writers who have contributed the several chapters in the great work published by Sir J. Marshall.

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1 Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, 3 vols., London, 1931 ; *Illustrated London News*, 1924 and 1926 ; *Annual Reports, A.S.I.*, 1923-24 *et seq.*

2 In *JRAS.*, April 1932, p. 466 f., G. R. Hunter, after several visits to the sites, has collated and arranged, with their variations, all the signs in his note entitled "Mohenjo-daro—Indus Epigraphy." The Roman numerals in col. A of the accompanying Plate correspond with those given in Mr. Hunter's "Sign List" (*ib.*, pp. 494-503).

3 Carolus Pauli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*, Leipzig, 1893-1902.
A. Fabretti, *Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum*, Turin, 1867 ; *id.*, *Supplementi* I, II, III.
In this paper these two works are referred to by the initials, CIE. and CII. respectively.

4 V. Helbig, *Bull. dell'Inst.*, 1883, p. 169 f.

5 The races of the 'Indus population' are thus specified in Marshall's work :—(1) Proto-Australoid, (2) Mediterranean Race, (3) Mongolian branch of the Alpine Stock, and (4) Alpine Race.

Confining ourselves here to the script found at Mohenjodâro, we may note that it contains signs in common with the Vikramkhol inscription,[6] and with old inscriptions found especially in Central Asia, Mesopotamia and Egypt. For some of the signs an Asiatic provenance has been unmistakably established. Certain signs, again, have been interpreted as meaning 'son', 'sun', 'moon', 'temple', 'king', 'god'; others as representing charms. In particular Prof. S. Langdon has noted that:

(1) the Indus inscriptions are to be read from right to left;
(2) some of the signs must be independent of the phrases or words;
(3) certain signs are similar to those of ancient inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Egypt, etc.;
(4) these it may be possible to interpret with the aid of old Sumerian;
(5) the Indus script is predominantly syllabic.

It is indeed interesting to find linguistic affinities with words of the Sumerian, Elamite and other kindred tongues, and between certain signs and letters of the Brâhmî script. Take the instance of the Indian (Sans.) word *mudrâ*, Gk. *μύδρος*, a 'lump of (hot) metal', Sumerian *mudru*, 'comb'. Now the sign representing a comb occurs frequently both on the ancient 'Hyderabad pottery' and on that found in the Indus Valley.

In the CIE. also we find a syllabic script predominant, reading from right to left a prevalent feature, and in certain inscriptions several signs which should be regarded as independent or separate from the lines of script, etc.—a few coincidences, not fortuitous, these, which must not be overlooked. Nor must we forget the "Etruscan affinities in a Ras Shamra tablet" pointed out by the late Dr. A. H. Sayce,[7] where that illustrious scholar agrees with the present writer in some of his grammatical and lexical remarks,[8] and where he considers the Etruscan words *aisar, aesar, eiser*, 'god', quoting in evidence *αἴσοι. θεοί, ὑπὸ Τυρ'ρ'ηνῶν* (Hesychius), as related to *A - s - r* of the tablet referred to.

In this connexion reference should be made also to the cases of material correspondence between, for example, the Etruscan *iluu* of the famous 'Devotio' of Monte Pitti (Campiglia Marittima) and the Akkadian *I-lum*, a family or clan name, which also occurs frequently in Sumerian epigraphs; with the Hittite *Ilâni*, the name of a divinity in several hieroglyphic inscriptions; with the Chaldean *Ilou*, a name for the supreme deity found in inscriptions in Asia and Mesopotamia; with the Yoruba *Ilo-*, *Ilu-*, roots of place and family names in Northern Nigeria.

Availing of the decipherment of some signs of the Indus script which decorate some pieces of pottery excavated at Mohenjodâro and Harappâ, we shall try to interpret the corresponding signs of the CIE. For the present the following brief notes are recorded for consideration :—

(*a*) The signs[9] II, VI, X, XXXVIII, XLII, XLIII in col. A are numerals. These signs occur respectively "under the base of a small vase", CIE. 3316; "on a piece of broken tufa stone", CIE. 5019; "under the base of vases", CII. 2260[c]; "on the upper side of a weaver's weight", CIE. 8368; in the Cavone di Fantibassi, "just half-way along the trench", CIE. 8427[e]; "on the neck and on the middle of an oinochoe", CIE. 8304; "under the base" of the saucers, CIE. 8302 and 8303; "on the walls of the excavated way", CIE. 8427[d];

[6] *Indian Antiquary*, LXII (1933), p. 58 f.

[7] *JRAS.*, 1932, Pt. I, p. 43 f.

[8] Cf. my paper on the "Metodo etimologico-combinatorio per l'interpretazione dei testi etruschi" in the *Actes du deuxième Congrès International de Linguistes*, Geneva, 1933.

[9] The sign II[a] (col. A) engraved, for instance, on the cup CIE. 8066 is usually confused with the sign II[b] or the sign VI. Here, however, we have to deal with two different signs, inasmuch as that of CIE. 8066 is a syllabic sign, while those of CIE. 5089, CII. 2260[v], etc., are numerals, rather than "lapidary's marks," as will be seen when I deal with this question.

A (Indus Signs.)	B (Signs from the CIE. and CII.)
II	8066, 2458, 3316, 8188;
III	3307, 8296, 8298;
VI	5019, 2260[e], 4956;
VII	4706
VIII	8329
X	8368, 8427[a, e], 8292, 8307;
XV	8529;
XVI	* *
XXVI	4715, * *, 2204, 4732;
XXIX	* *, 3322, 4722, 8330;
	4731[v], 4788, 8300;
XXXVIII	8304;
XLII	8302, 8303, 8292, 8324[a],
	8323[b];
XLIII	8427[d];
XLIX	8018;
LII	3315, 9033, 8292, 3316,
	4731[c], 8069, 4715, 4721;
LIX	3308, 8427[a, e];
LX	*2260[x], 5221, 4733;
LXXXIII	*241;

A (Indus Signs.)	B (Signs from the CIE. and CII.)
LXXXIV	2260[h], 8057
LXXXV	* *
LXXXVI	8356
LXXXVIII	* *
XCI	8299
XCII	*2218
XCIII	3321[a]
XCV	8324[c], 8435, 4715, 4726, 3309, 3319, 4731[a], 4947
XCVII	8069[b]
XCVIII	8377
CIV	* *
CXIII	8297
CXIV	* *
CXVI	3321[b], *2260[i]
CXVII	8183, 3312, 8292, 8186
CXIX	3323[a], 8338
CXX	3319
CXXIII	*2260[t]
CXXVIII	*2260[v]
CXXXV	* *

so also under the lines of the inscription CIE. 2458 and in the middle of the stone is found the same sign as II, and which, from its form and position cannot be considered to be a letter forming part of the inscription itself.

(*b*) The sign XCV in col. A is an ideograph, and probably a title, with its two variations respectively, which are indeed frequently met "in the middle of the base" of the saucer, CIE. 8324[c]; "on the inside" of the cup, CIE. 8435; to the right and beneath the inscription on the "sepulchral tile", CIE. 4715; in the middle and beneath the inscription on the "sepulchral tile", CIE. 4726; "on several isolated blocks of travertin of the Etruscan walls of Perugia", CIE. 3309 and 3319; on top of the "sepulchral tile", CIE. 4731[a]; "on the front of the tomb", CIE. 4947, to which the numeric value of X was assigned.

(*c*) The signs CXIX in col. A are regarded as the initials of some name or else of a solemn formula. These appear ("once only") upon the blocks of the Etruscan walls of Perugia, CIE. 3323[a]; as a component of a monogram engraved on the cup CIE. 9339; as a component of another monogram "beneath the bases of the vases", CII. 2260[i].

The sign CXX, which is also frequent in the Etruscan alphabets, might have the value of *o*; the sign CXIV=*û*, *ô*, as in Brâhmî; the sign XXIX open at the bottom probably represents (......), that is to say, a repetition of the sign LII. So the two vertical strokes, rather long and straight (thus : ||), especially when found by themselves on certain Etruscan objects, might represent the number XX.

(*d*) The signs (, >, very often accompanied by +, ×, which are found isolated at the end of various Etruscan inscriptions, may also be interpreted as *û*, or perhaps as the initial of some name or solemn formula. The same may be said of the sign II engraved upon the cup CIE. 8066.

The following call for separate consideration :—

"The form of a letter which is not Faliscan", CIE. 8296, identical with the sign III (col. A); the design of a "waggon", CIE. 4706, similar to VII; the sign CIE. 8529, which was connected with the Greek ψ, identical with XV; the sign CIE. 4722, which was regarded as *th* conjunct, similar to XXIX; the last letter "not closed" of CIE. 4788, identical with XXIX[6]; the sign "on the front of the tomb" likened to the form of a "number representing 100", similar to LX; the sign CIE. 8069, which is perhaps only an initial of the type of XCVII. In like manner we may associate with CXVII the sign CIE. 8183, which was interpreted as a Faliscan *m*, or a Latin M (=1000); and so also the sign CIE, 8377, which was connected with the Latin X or the Faliscan *t*, may be found in the Indus sign XCVIII.

Finally attention should be drawn to the "circular"[10] shape of the Etruscan alphabetic elements, comparable with the Indus forms II, III, LII, in which is reflected a common origin with the same signs that appear in the ancient inscriptions of Mesopotamia.

THE WISE SAYINGS OF NAND ṚISHI.

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, PRESIDENT OF THE ŚRÎNAGAR MUNICIPALITY (*Retired.*)

KASHMÎR is a land of striking contrasts. Its snow-clad and sunlit panorama of mountains, its mirror-like lakes and sparkling springs, its silvery rivers and streamlets, its emerald-green dales and hills—in short, its varied scenery of vast grandeur and little beauty-spots—while charming those in pursuit of worldly pleasure and enjoyment, afford peace of mind, mingled with bliss, to those striving for the attainment of a higher purpose, the solution of the riddle of life. This land has produced, in the past, many saints and seers, among both Hindus and Muhammadans, who preached virtue and moral truths with such eloquence and poetic power as to sink deep into the hearts of the people.

10 Prof. S. Langdon (*vide* Marshall's work cited above) thinks their circular shape and sequence are unusual, and that "they were probably manufactured in Mesopotamia."

Amongst such saints was the famous Nand Ṛishi, *alias* Shaikhu'l-'alam or Shaikh Nûru'd-dîn of Tsrâr, about whom a Persian poet has fitly sung thus :—

شیخ نورالدین که نور از خاک او آید برون
فیض گوناگون ز روح پاک او آید برون

" Shaikh Nûru'd-dîn—lustre beams forth from the dust of his grave,
" A variety of grace flows out from his holy soul."

A brief outline of the life of this renowned saint has already been given by me in this journal (*vide* vols. LVIII and LIX). A number of his sayings, which I have been able to collect, are reproduced with English translations, below. Pregnant with eternal truth and eminent wisdom as they are, they show that he was not only a great seer in the world beyond but also a sage humanist, whose mission in life was to teach the highest morals in sweet, terse and inspiring language. These wise and vivid sayings represent ancient culture, and display what is best and finest in humanity. Their study stimulates theological and philosophical thought. They contribute to the evolution of human ethics and, moreover, possess a poetic charm dominated by measureless power to moralize and spiritualize. In short, they are an ideal gift of olden times to the modern age, full of perennial interest and value to deep thinkers, as well as to philologists and Oriental scholars, whose aim is to make history relive for us by their researches into things antique.

(1) *Âdam akuy ta byun byun wâr—*
Ak layi mukhta ta ak layi na hâr.
Tsandun ti dâr, arkhor ti dâr,
Arkhor âsi na barkhurdâr.

Man is the same [but] of different qualities;
One is worth a pearl, another is not worth a shell.
Sandal is wood, *arkhor* is wood, [but]
Arkhor is not of any use.

No carpenter in Kashmîr will work with the poisonous *arkhor* (*Rhus Wallichii*). The sap of the green wood causes weals and blisters.

(2) *Âdana archanâ karay no mě Tas,*
Wuni pyom tsětas grěki vizi nûn.

I performed no devotion to Him (God) in my younger days;
Now, at the moment of boiling [food], I have remembered [to obtain] salt.
I.e., *too late.*

(3) *Akis ditut narma ta khâsay,*
Akis jandah palâs nay.
Akis ditut barni-nyâsay,
Akis tsûr ây dorân Lhâsay.

To one Thou [O God] gavest shawl and linen,
To another not even a rag quilt.
To one Thou [O God] gavest [enough for enjoyment] just near his own house door,
To another thieves came running from [such a long distance as] Lhasa [and stole all he possessed].

(4) *Âsiye ta buchis bhojan dizey.*
Nanis pritsh zi na kyâ chay zât.
Tava sati, sâsa gun puni prâvizey.
Hâ Nandi ! sukry râviy na zâh.

If thou canst afford, provide the hungry with food.
Do not inquire from the nude what his caste is (i.e., of whatever caste he may be, clothe him).
By doing so, thou shalt obtain virtue one thousand times over.
O Nand ! a virtuous deed shall never be lost.

(5) *Awwal bhangi-kon wopun maidânay ;*
Chis kâghaz karân dasit kyĕt ;
'Ilmuk kalima likhuk ada tasay.
Su kath zâts âv wasit kyĕt ?

In the beginning the hemp plant grew on a plain ;
It was beaten down and made into paper ;
Then [after undergoing such affliction] the word of learning was written on it.
Which class was it degraded to ? (i.e., on the contrary, it became elevated and consecrated).

(6) *Buthâ chalit, bânga parit ;*
Kawa zâna, Rishi ! kyâh chuy wasawas.
Deshana rust 'umrâ bharat ;
Daftam tee namâz karat kas.

Having washed thy face, thou hast called the believers to prayer ;
How can I know, O Ṛishi ! what thou feelest in thy heart, or what thy bows are for ?
Thou hast lived a life without seeing [God] ;
Tell me to whom didst thou offer prayer.
(i. e. a hypocrite).

(7) *Gânṭh kyâh zâni yîra wasun.*
Khar kyâh zani saha sund zyuth,
Shânt kyâh zâni lolun ta rasun,
Hânṭh kyâh zâni prasun kyuth.

What does a kite know of swimming ?
What does an ass know of the prey of a tiger ?
What does a pious woman know of murmuring and being displeased ?
Does a barren woman know what labour is ?

(8) *Grah yĕli âsiy kâsun Shâhas*
Tĕli ho sapadiy Tâzi Bhaṭṭi kân.

When the King (God) wills to remove ill-luck from thee,
Then it will be like Tâzi Bhaṭṭ's arrow.

Explanation.—Tâzi Bhaṭṭ rose to high position under King Zainu'l-âbidîn (1421-72 A.D.). He was originally a poor man. The King once placed a ring upon a wall and issued a proclamation that whoever could shoot an arrow from a certain distance straight through the ring

should receive a reward. The best archers in the kingdom tried, but none succeeded. One day Tâzi Bhaṭṭ, who was passing that way, firing his arrows in all directions in a most reckless fashion, came to the place where the ring was suspended, and, more from a playful feeling than from any thought of accomplishing the difficult feat, let go an arrow, which, to his great astonishment, passed clean through the ring. He was immediately conducted to the presence of the King, who praised him and gave him the promised reward.

(9) *Guḍanic rani chay tîl cirâghas :*
Guḍanic rani chĕy bâghac hiy :
Guḍanic rani chĕy nâra-phâh Mâgas :
Guḍanic rani chĕy panani ziy :
Guḍanic rani chĕy brând sangûlas.
Doyim rani chĕy mûlan drot :
Triyam rani chĕy hây zan krûlas :
Tsûrim rani chĕy gharibas ghaṭoṭ.

The first wife is [like] oil to a lamp;
The first wife is [like] a flower-bush in a garden;
The first wife is [like] the warmth of a fire in January-February;
The first wife is [like] one's own earnings.
The first wife is [like] a step up to the door-chain.
The second wife is [like] a sickle [applied] to the roots;
The third wife is [like] soot on the front door;
The fourth wife is [like] darkness to the poor.

(10) *Hâras nindar piyam yutâm pava gom ;*
Kâras doh grinz tsâm na ak.
Âdana gharey kâdan me wah gom,
Nit pathas mĕ hĕkim na tsak.
Teli pyos fikri yĕli Waṭun koh gom ;
Put âm bor wati kuḍum na thak.
Tsyûnum na yutâm mandenĕn doh gom,
Zyûnum na kentsha lajim patay hak.

I fell asleep in Har (June-July) until the stream of water dried up:
On no single day did it appeal to me to work.
While yet forming, the alluvial deposit [in the stream] got washed away;
I could not carry turfed earth to the fields.
I came to my senses when Waṭâyan became difficult to ascend like a hill;
The load pressed [heavily] on my back, but I did not take rest on the way;
I did not see until the day finished at noon;
I did not gain anything until a cry to halt reached me.

(11) *Harum kyâhtâm mĕ, Hara gutshum.*
Sor kaji trâvit tamiy kaji drâs.
Pûr kun pakân ta wath mukajim :
Lajim buchi ta taway âs.

Something was shaken from me; I desired to find God.
I came with that desire, after abandoning all [other] desires.
In going towards the East (i.e., towards God) the path cleared for me;
I got hungry, and therefore I came.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS OF SOUTHERN INDIA, by ROBERT SEWELL. Published, under Orders of Government, by the University of Madras. Edited by S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., Hon.Ph.D. Pp. xiv + 451 ; map. Madras, 1932. Rs. 10.

Robert Sewell always saw the forest, however numerous the trees. His *Lists of Antiquities* is a model survey, topographical, condensing in handy and intelligible form a mass of information, still invaluable, for every district and taluk in the Madras Presidency. It is a pity that his lead was never followed. His history of Vijayanagar is a masterpiece of shrewd scholarship. Although much new material has come to light since 1900, when it was first published, there is little in it that requires correction, and its reissue in facsimile a quarter of a century later is evidence of its soundness.

The last fifteen years or so of Sewell's life were devoted to preparing the volume now under review. He was well equipped for the task by years of patient work on the intricacies and pitfalls of Indian chronology. Among the many thousands of inscriptions recorded in S. India (up to 1923) Sewell wisely concentrated on those which he "vetted" sound. A few undated records of outstanding historical value are also included in this collection. The inscriptions are arranged in chronological order, and are correlated with the general trend of Indian (and Sinhalese) history by the frequent insertion of short explanatory paragraphs at appropriate points. The record begins with Aśoka and ends with Queen Victoria, covering just over 300 pages. It is preceded by a short introduction to the early period up to the second century A.D., and succeeded by an exhaustive series of dynastic genealogies, with annotations, which runs to nearly 90 pages. Sewell is never dogmatic or argumentative ; the academical controversies with which Indian history bristles he leaves alone, simply stating that "authorities" differ.

The value of this work can hardly be overrated. It supplies the foundation and framework for the reconstruction of S. Indian history, and brings into one view the unceasing interplay of cultural and political forces through a period of over two thousand years. It is a unique source-book of permanent worth.

Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar's editing is judicious. Sewell's text he leaves untouched, indicating in short footnotes such modifications as are needed. He also contributes a map and an index. The index is a little puzzling in parts, e.g., there are 16 "Krishṇas," and it takes time to sort them out ; entry No. 1 refers to three different persons ; Nos. 3, 5 and 6 all refer to the same person, while No. 4 is the river of that name. Some references to Venkaṭappa of Keḷadi appear under "Venkaṭappa," others under "Keḷadi," and there is no cross reference ; and so forth.

The Madras Government, with their usual readiness to promote S. Indian research, have financed the publication.

F. J. R.

ÉTUDES D'ORIENTALISME, publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier. 2 vols. 10×6½ in. ; pp. vii+562, with 70 plates and numerous illustrations in the text. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1932.

The graceful prefatory words of M. René Grousset and the papers contributed spontaneously by so many distinguished French scholars, which fill these two handsomely illustrated volumes, bear testimony to the high esteem felt for the brilliant young lady to whose memory they have been dedicated. Mention can be made here of only a few papers that may specially appeal to our Indian readers. The first, by the late Raymonde Linossier herself, is a collection of descriptive labels, serving, when thus printed collectively, as a catalogue, of the Tibetan paintings in the Loo collection—models of what such descriptions should be—that will be very useful to students of Tibetan Buddhist iconography. Then there is a suggestive paper by Madame Foucher on a type of coinage of Pañcâla, in which she has, correctly, we venture to think, interpreted the figure on certain coins reproduced by Cunningham (cf. *C.A.I.*, Pl. VII, nos. 12, 13 and 15), not as Agni nor as a 'five-branched tree,' but as a five-hooded *nâga*. Mme. Foucher, in seeking an explanation of this symbol, draws attention to the snake legends associated with Pañcâla, and suggests that we may have here evidence of a connexion between coins and the patron divinities and religious sites of the towns where they were minted. We think, however, it should be considered whether this may not have been a dynastic symbol ; and in this connexion attention may be invited to the views contained in Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's article on the 'History of India, c. 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.' (Pt. I, Ch. iv) in *JBORS.*, XIX (1933).

In the paper entitled 'Mesopotamian and Early Indian Art : Comparisons,' Dr. C. L. Fabri has presented, with useful illustrative sketches, a series of striking parallels in selected elements of Indian art, viz. (1) the *Zikkurrat* motif, (2) the sun disc, (3) the sacred tree, (4) the jug of superfluity, (5) the lion and the bull, (6) the throne with the lion leg, (7) winged animals and other fanciful creatures, (8) the hair curls of the Buddha, and (9) the *mekhalâ* girdle. The correspondences revealed are quite patent, and

we shall look forward to the publication of the complete material collected, of which this paper contains but samples. Dr. Fabri would emphasise two conclusions, firstly, that a long connexion between Indian and Western Asian art must necessarily be supposed, and, secondly, that "it is not Persia, or at least not *only* Persia from which Western elements of Indian art are borrowed, but both Persian and Indian art have borrowed from a common source, mainly independently from each other: and this accounts for the partial similarities as well as the great differences of Persian and Indian art alluded to by recent authors."

In another paper M. René Grousset points to correspondences between the Pâla and Sena art of India and that of which examples are found in Ceylon, Java, etc. Consideration of the analogies presented leads him to envisage a diffusion of the later ("Bengali") art of the Pâla and Sena periods not less important than that recognised in the cases of Gandhâran and Gupta art. It would be interesting, he adds, if historians of Indian art, instead of considering the art of India proper, of Central Asia and of Insulinde each separately, were to deal with all three simultaneously, showing for each of the schools (Gandhâra, Mathurâ, Gupta, Pâla and Sena) how their influences had spread to the shores of Further India.

M. J. Hackin gives a very brief survey, illustrated by 12 plates, of the more recent discoveries made by the French archæological mission to Afghânistân at Kakrak and Bâmiân. M. Jean Przyluski discusses the symbolism of the animals sculptured between the wheels on the capital of the Aśokan column at Sârnâth with his wonted fertility of suggestion. The sculptures at Mâmallapuram have inspired two short papers, one by Dr. Vogel suggesting a reminiscence of classical art, and the other by M. Jouveau-Dubreuil on the "Descent of the Ganges."

C. E. A. W. O.

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, vol. XIX, 1933.

In the current year's volume of this journal we find a most important contribution by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal to the history of India during what has been described as the 'dark period,' viz., roughly, from 150 to 350 A.D., or the period intervening between the breaking up of the Kuṣâṇa ascendancy in the north and of the Ândhra dynasty in the south and the consolidation of the empire of the Imperial Guptas. By skilfully piecing together and interpreting in the light of numismatic, epigraphical and other evidence the scanty references to be found in certain Purâṇas, Mr. Jayaswal now fills this wide gap with the dynasty of the Bhâraśivas (Nava Nâgas) of the (Yâdava) stock of the Nâgas, who ruled at Padmâvatî (Padam Pavâyâ in the Gwalior State), Kântîpurî (Kantit, Mîrzâpur dist.) and Mathurâ, and the early Vâkâṭakas, Vindhyaśakti, Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I. He contends that it was the Bhâraśivas, who had ten *aśvamedhas* to their credit, who freed the Ganges valley and northern India from the anti-Brahmanical Kuṣâṇas, re-establishing Hindu ascendancy and Brâhmaṇical culture on orthodox lines, and that the Vâkâṭakas, who were Brâhmaṇs, but connected by marriage ties with the Nâgas (the son of Pravarasena I being married to the daughter of the Bhâraśiva Bhava Nâga) succeeded to their heritage and maintained it, until Samudra Gupta, by defeating and killing Rudrasena I, suppressed the dynasty, which, however, regained importance afterwards in the time of the later Vâkâṭakas. He is also of opinion that the Imperial Guptas took over and carried on the administrative and cultural system of the Vâkâṭakas.

The Bhâraśivas appear to have had capitals at Mathurâ and Campâvatî (which latter place Mr. Jayaswal equates with Bhâgalpur). The dynastic title Vâkâṭaka Mr. Jayaswal takes to mean simply 'of Vâkâṭa'; and this place, Vâkâṭa, he finds in the ancient Brâhmaṇ village now known as Bâgâṭ, in the north of the Orchha State, some 6 miles east of Chirgâon in the Jhânsi district.

Among the numerous fresh ideas presented in this valuable monograph should be mentioned that of recognising the era of 248-49 A.D. (commencing 5 Sept. 248), sometimes called the Traikûṭaka or the Chedi Era, as the Vâkâṭaka Era, established probably by Pravarasena I to commemorate the rise to power of the founder of the dynasty, his father Vindhyaśakti.

This bold, and in many respects brilliant, essay to elucidate one of the most puzzling periods of Indian history will be welcomed by all Indian scholars interested in the history of their country, as explaining many difficulties that have hitherto defied solution, and as forming a basis for further research, to be confirmed, modified or amplified as may be found necessary; and whether the main conclusions be accepted or not, recognition must be expressed of the wide research and remarkable aptitude for collating and interpreting scattered items of evidence shown by the author. As an example of this may be cited the contents of Appendix D, in which is discussed the evidential value of the exploration and finds at Bhîṭâ, the important site to which attention was first directed—as in so many cases—by Sir Alexander Cunningham.

C. E. A. W. O.

NEW LIGHT ON CHARLES MASSON.

By FRANK E. ROSS.

Among explorers of Asia during the first half of the nineteenth century the name of Charles Masson is by no means the least noteworthy. Historians have noted his work and given him due credit—but have been unable to clear up the mooted question of his nationality. The recent discovery of the Masson MSS. in the India Office at London enables the author to reveal Masson's origin and to fill in several gaps in his career.

James Lewis, for such was Masson's real name, was born in Aldermanbury, Middlesex, England, on February 16, 1800. His father, George Lewis, of London, married Mary Hopcraft, of Northamptonshire, on March 6, 1799. George Lewis became a Freeman of the Needle Makers' Company in February 1799 and a Liveryman of that Company in November 1800.

In 1821 James Lewis enlisted in the British Army and embarked on board the *Dutchess of Athol*, January 17, 1822, for Bengal. While serving as a private soldier in the Bengal Artillery he attracted the especial notice of Major-General Hardwicke, commandant of that corps, who employed him in arranging the Hardwicke collection of zoological specimens. As a trooper in Captain Hyde's First Brigade of Horse Artillery Masson served in the siege of Bharatpur. Shortly thereafter he and a fellow trooper named Potter deserted, July 4, 1826, and went to the Panjāb.

Taking the name of Charles Masson, Lewis began a long and distinguished career of exploration and antiquarian research in Central Asia. British officials whom he encountered in his travels were told that his name was Masson and that he was a native of the State of Kentucky, U.S.A. Never thereafter (1826) did he use the name Lewis. His nationality was sometimes contraverted (*Asiatic Journal*, London, April 1841), but not authoritatively; officials of the East India Company kept their own counsel.

Traversing Rājpūtānā, Masson entered Bahāwalpur, journeyed to Peshāwar (1827), and through the Khaibar Pass on the high road to Kābul. From Kābul he went to Ghazni, where he interviewed Dost Muhammad Khān, Amīr of Kābul. Proceeding to Qandahar, he made a remarkable journey to Shikarpur *via* Quetta and the Bolān Pass. He then visited the Panjāb, and finally voyaged to Persia *via* the Persian Gulf. At Bushire (1830) he prepared lengthy memoranda of his travels for the British Resident, printed in George W. Forrest, *Selections from the Travels and Journals preserved in the Bombay Secretariat*, Bombay, 1906, pp. 103-187.

Proceeding to Urmara, on the Makrān coast, Masson sustained himself by the practice of medicine, until his professional reputation declined, following an injudicious prescription of sea water for a purge. Travelling through Las Bela and eastern Balūchistān to Kalāt, he was the first white man to climb the heights of Chahiltan, near Quetta, whose misty legend he recorded.

During the next few years Masson engaged in archæological excavation and exploration in Afghānistān. By 1834 he had obtained many ancient coins, which he transferred to the Government of India for preservation in the East India Company's museum at London, in exchange for an allowance. Thus financed, he continued his work with notable success, which he described in articles and letters in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, April, July, 1834, April 1835, January, March, September, November, 1836, January 1837 and in a valuable "Memoir on the Topes and Sepulchral Monuments of Afghanistan," printed in H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua: A Descriptive Account of the Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan*, London, 1841, pp. 55-118. By 1837 the Masson collection of coins totalled between fifteen and twenty thousand. It "proved a veritable revelation of unknown kings and dynasties, and contributed enormously to our positive knowledge of Central Asian history" (Thomas H. Holdich, *The Gates of India*, London, 1910, page 394).

In 1834 Masson made his peace with the East India Company and became a political correspondent of the Government of India (*Parliamentary Papers, Indian Papers, No.* 5, 1839, No. 131-II, pp. 19-22 ; and Masson MSS.). The Governor-General of India recommended to the Home Authorities that a pardon for his desertion be extended to Masson " in the event of that individual's fulfilling the expectations which are entertained of him " (Bengal Secret Consultations, June 19, 1834).

In Kābul Masson collected information about Afghān affairs and forwarded it to Government *via* the Khaibar Pass and Captain C. M. Wade, British Political Agent at Ludhiāna). He remained in the Afghān capital until the failure of the Burnes mission, when he returned to India (1838). Burnes he considered a bungler, and he severely criticised the Afghān policy of Lord Auckland, the Governor-General. He resigned the employment that he had long felt to be " disagreeable," " hopeless and unprofitable," and denounced the service of the Government of India as " dishonourable " (*Narrative, post,* 1842, III, 484, 486).

During the First Afghān War Masson went to Balūchistān, intending to resume his explorations. He arrived at Kalāt shortly before an outbreak against the British occupation, and upon his return to Quetta he was arrested by Captain J. D. D. Bean, British Political Agent, on suspicion of being disloyal and of being a Russian spy (1840). He was treated with brutality, according to his own account. Little food was provided. Once he was given sheep's entrails, " a mess......which any dog in Quetta might have claimed for his own " (*Narrative, post,* 1843, pp. 259-260). Upon his eventual release he returned to England.

In London, where he arrived in February 1842, Masson wrote a *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, and the Panjab,* 3 volumes, London, 1842, and a *Narrative of a Journey to Kalāt......and a Memoir on Eastern Balochistan,* London, 1843. The two works were combined and reprinted in 4 volumes, London, 1844. Masson also published *Legends of the Afghan Countries, in Verse, with Various Pieces, Original and Translated,* London, 1848, and read papers before the Royal Asiatic Society : " Narrative of an Excursion from Peshâwer to Sháh-Báz Ghari " and " Illustration of the Route from Selucia to Apobatana, as given by Isidorus of Charax " (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* London, volumes VIII, 1846, and XII, 1850).

Masson's work was peculiarly distinctive and valuable. A shrewd observer of all matters political, economic, scientific, and social, he took the role of an Afghān traveller, clad in native garments. He lived and travelled not with the chiefs but with the people, a manner never since duplicated in Afghānistān and a method which gives " a peculiar value " to his works. There is scarcely a place in the Kābul area which he did not visit and describe. Many of the names and events he mentioned were so unfamiliar to his contemporaries that he was called "fanciful" (*Calcutta Review,* August 1844, page 449). For many years his work remained unchecked, but was finally proven to be " marvellously accurate in geographical detail " (Holdich *supra,* page 348). Half a century later, after twice invading and occupying Afghānistān, the British authorities possessed no knowledge of the country that they could not have obtained from Masson (*Ibid.,* page 362). For fifteen years Masson was " an irreclaimable nomadic vagabond." His life was constantly in danger. Often he fell among thieves. Once he was stripped of clothes and money and left " destitute, a stranger in the centre of Asia....exposed....to notice, inquiry, ridicule, and insult " (*Narrative, supra,* 1842, I, 309-10). But if there were hardships, there were also consolations : occasionally Masson paused in his travels to comfort a lonely female in some far away corner of Asia (*Ibid.,* I, 375).

The Court of Directors of the East India Company indicated its approval of Masson's work by a donation of £500 (India Office Collection No. 97,534) and a pension of £100 per annum, beginning in January 1845 (Minutes of the Court of Directors, January 15, 1845) Upon Masson's death in 1853 the Court of Directors gave his widow a donation of £100. (*Ibid.,* March 15, 1854).

WISE SAYINGS OF NAND ṚISHI

BY PAṆḌIT ANAND KOUL

(*Continued from vol. LIX, p. 32*)

Kaliyuga apazer dîṭhim tośân ;
Śântĕn handi ghari dyûṭhum paśun wâv.
Mahâzanan bharut bhatta dyûṭhum na pośân ;
Kozanan dyûṭhum myûṭh mâz ta pulâv.
Pâz dîṭhim jath kanan kaśân ;
Raza-hamsas runân dîṭhim kâv.

During this Iron Age I found liars prospering ;
In the house of the pious I found grief born of poverty.
I did not find the good getting full meals ;
I found delicious mutton and curry being served to wicked people.
I found hawks tearing out feathers from their own ears ;
I found crows pecking at the swans.

Kaśîri pheryâs andi andiy ;
Kânsi na hitum brânday nâv.
Jandas yĕli hĕtsam karani paiwandiy,
Tĕli lokav dupum Nandey nâv.
Mana yĕli hyutum, kath gayam banday.
Bu na kĕnh ta mĕ kyâ nâv.
Âkhir kânh chu na kânsi hunduy—
Khĕt zan tsalân prâpiun kâv.

I wandered round Kashmîr [doing no work] ;
Nobody asked my name from the door-step.
When I began to mend my ragged quilt (i.e., began to work),
Then people called me by the name of Nand.
When I remembered [God] in my mind, my speech stopped.
I am nothing. What is my name ? (nothing).
In the end there remains no one attached to any other—
Just as crows fly away after eating the offering of food [so all depart from this world].

Khĕv ti mûdiy, na khĕv ti mûdiy.
Yĕmi zuvi karinam ziv dĕh nâv.
Yimau na khĕv yim wanan rûdiy,
Timanay ada drâv Nandey nâv.

Having eaten food we die ; having fasted we die.
This life called me soul and body,
Those who fasted [and] those who lived in forests,
They then were called by the name of Nand.

Koḍar phalis war-haji ganey
Pâtsi-khaney kyâh dima lat
Hutimatis bhatas worzi-raney—
Yiman pântsan chĕ kuniy gat.

Grape-seed, a knotty block of wood,
A linen quilt—why should I kick to press [and wash] it ?
Boiled rice turned putrid, a remarried wife—
These five are of the same nature.

Makka Madîn mana gwâr, nakha wathâ chay.
Haqqraṭ ta tsak mâr, Sahaza kray hâviy tsĕy.
Think in thy mind of Mecca [and] Medina ; this is the shortest way.
Turn to God, kill anger ; the Self will show thee [how to do rightly] an act.

Mari dup mĕ kun " Zuva ! kyâ buwuy ?
Kĕnh doh tsĕ mê sati âsay śây.
Za zani bechây sodâ wânas;
Su sûr ta pânas pânas gay."

The body spoke to me : " O soul ! what has happened to thee ?
Thou wert keeping company with me for some days.
Two persons sat in a shop of merchandise ;
When it was exhausted the two went away."

Mo gatsh Śekhas ta Pîras ta Mullas ;
Mo bĕh gupan palani arkhoras satiy ;
Mo bĕh masjidan, jangalan cilas ;
Dam hĕth âts kandi Dayas satiy.

Do not go to Shaikh and priest and Mullâ ;
Do not feed the cattle on *arkhor* [leaves] ;
Do not shut thyself up in mosques [or] forests for 40 days [of lonely penance] ;
Enter thine own body with breath [controlled in communion] with God.

Mo mâz mâzas ta masas ta mînas ;
Sînuk kul boḍiy śinas tal.
Nasaro ! zân thav Jân-Âfarînas ;
Ada ho ainas tsaliy mal.
Nafsâniyat chay nuqsân dînas,
Boviy na at zamînas phal.

Do not desire flesh-meat, wine and fish ;
The tree of thy chest will [otherwise] get buried under snow.
O Naṣar ! keep acquaintance with the Creator of life ;
Then the dirt will be removed from thy mirror.
Selfishness is harmful to religion ;
This land [of selfishness] will not yield any produce. [1]

Note:—The play upon the three Persian letters, *sîn*, *shîn* and *ain*, is noticeable in this saying.

Pânay myâni tsîrivi ago !
Lâimay daga tay phulham na zâh.
Pânay myânio hâ mana śetho !
Doha khuta doha chay gani poṭhân.

O my body [that art like] a knotted block of apricot wood !
I gave thee strokes, [but] thou never wert worn out.
O my body [that art] sixty maunds in weight !
Thou art adding flesh every day.

Note:—A Kâshmirî *man* is equal to ½ *ser*.

Phal ḍher trâvît mal ḍher viwum :
Kal budh ganeyam din kyâh râtay.
Tiy harda lûnam yi sonta wowum :
Sumbrit lagum pânas satiy.

Having left a heap of grain, I winnowed a heap of dirt;
  My sense and understanding increased day and night.
That I reaped in autumn which I sowed in spring;
  Having gathered the harvest [good or bad], it remained with me.

Puz dapana keṅh ti no chuney;
  Apuz dapana, tâwan piyey.
Yi krit chi soruy wav ta lon—
  Yĕli kara wuv karay khasey.

By telling the truth nothing will be lost;
  By telling an untruth there will be loss.
This act is like sowing and reaping—
  When peas are sown, then peas will grow.

Riśi âsan nâṭan kresân
  Nâhaqq râvruk dĕn kyâva rât
Katanay waluk; atha ây waṭân.
  Woni kyâ graśân chay Riśan zât?

The Ṛishis will pine to get meat.
  They wasted day and night for nothing
They clad themselves [with cloth] without [the labour of] spinning; they came away with their fists clenched (i.e., with money greedily collected).
Now, what good feature is there in the nature of Ṛishis?

Tsĕḍ yud karak, soruy con.
  Yi lâni âsiy ti anit diyî.
Tsa yud karak myon zi myon,
  Ada anmutuy câni atha niyî.

If thou hast patience, everything is thine.
  Whatever is in thy fate, that will be brought to thee.
If thou sayest " It is mine ", " it is mine " (i.e., showest greed),
  Then whatever thou hast gathered will be wrested from thy hand.

Sarpas tsalzey astas khanḍas.
  Sahas tsalzey krohas tâm.
Wathawâras tsalzey waharas khanḍas.
  At ḍĕka-lânis tsalzi kut tâm?

A snake may be avoided by moving a cubit's length [from it].
  A tiger may be avoided by running away a couple of miles [from it].
One may escape a devastation for a year.
  From Fate how long can one escape?
(There is no way of avoiding one's fate.)

Tîl trâvit laśi yus zâley
  Kâyi kazul athan phak.
Ak khur wukhali ak khur nâvey
  Pûr pakit ta pachum tsak.

Anybody who, having discarded oil, burns blue pine
  Will get his body blackened with soot, and his hands will smell foul.
[A man with] one foot on the bank and the other in the boat [will run the risk of being drowned].
By walking towards the East (i.e., towards God) I left anger to the West (i.e., behind me).

Tâṭhyo ! buṭh tsa kor khasak ?
  Kyâh bhaya pânuik âsak nâwey ?
Dunyâki sukhay kyâh ratsak ?
  Tyut karith lagak moh tâpaney ;
Him zan galak, cakak ta pĕk ;
  Patô mîn zan lagak tâvey.

Beloved ! Why shouldst thou disembark ?
  What fear of the water is there to thee in the boat ?
What will avail thee the pleasures of the world ?
  At length thou shalt be exposed to the burning heat of spiritual ignorance ;
Thou shalt melt and thaw as snow does ;
  In the end thou shalt enter the frying pan like a fish.

Tsa chuk kunuy, nâv chuy lacha;
  Câni kirti rust ak kachâ ti na.
Zanam zonum Pohnuy pachâ.
  Ahâra rust thavat machâ ti na.

Thou art One, [but] thy names are a lakh [in number];
  There is not a blade of grass without (i.e., that does not sing) Thy praise.
This life I found [as short as] a fortnight of the month of Poh (December-January).
  Thou hast not left even a fly without food.

Tshânjâm tran bhavanan biyi daśi deśan;
  Neb ta niśân lubmas na kuney.
Pritshâm ada sâdhan biyi tapa riśan;
  Tim ti bûzit lajiyay rivaney.
Dab yĕli ditum râgan ta viśiyan,
  Ada Suy mĕ labum pânas niśey.

I searched Him in the three worlds and ten directions;
  I could not get a clue or a glimpse of Him anywhere.
I then inquired from Saints and Ṛishis performing penances;
  They too began to weep on hearing it.
When I gave up desires and passions,
  Then I found Him near myself.

Yahay kand zâyi ta yahay kand âsey ;
  Zĕt pân wolum tula.
Jachâm juryâm hunari sâsey;
  At na hâr lajim mula.
Gom bhangi andar natsun gub gom śwâsay ;
  Gayim kâvan donta tsûran pula.

This body was born and this body will be [in future births];
  By taking birth I degraded myself.
I strove [and] tried by a thousand accomplishments;
  It did not cost me a shell.
It became like dancing in a plantation of hemp (i.e., useless), and my breath became heavy;
  It happened as if crows separated and thieves united.

Yamikuy dâr tamikuy pon ;
  Timan don wapun makh.
Nâr gos tshĕta ta kâr sapun.
  Tati upadân l'al ta athan phak.

Whence the timber, thence the wedge (i.e., both are of one and the same nature, the latter helping to split the former);
  With these two, the axe was furnished with a handle (to cut the wood itself).
The fire got extinguished, and the thing was done (i.e., the split wood was all burnt).
  There rubies are found, and a bad smell sticks to the hands.

Yemi vânsi sandhyâ, tapasyâ kar na ;
  Mîn ta mâmas yas tsâpana âv,
Kyâh prov tami utam kula zĕna ?
  Tamis hâ śobi na Brahman nâv.

He who did not perform *sandhyâ* [and] austere penances throughout his life;
  He who could chew meat and fish,
What did he gain by being born in a holy family ?
  He does not deserve to be called a Brâhmaṇ.

Yĕnan vĕna ta wanan laśi ;
  Kanan lugum piśun wâv.
Tsalit âyâs panani deśi
  Dĕva kuni nerĕm riśi nâv.
Ati me kuṭhĕv tatiki niśi
  Riśan ti kyâhtâm duśan âv.

Mentha is growing on the banks of rivulets, and blue-pine in the forests;
  The wind is playing in my ears.
I ran away from my native place
  So that I might be called 'Ṛishi.'
Here I fared worse than there;
  Something wrong has taken hold of the Ṛishis.

Yim andra śuda darśan galiy,
  Tim nĕbra zariy ta kaliy chiy ;
Tim toha nâra drây śihliy,
  Ada timay la'l mulaliy chiy.

Those who melt inwardly by pure vision,
  They are outwardly deaf and dumb;
They came out cool from a fire of chaff,
  They, then, alone are precious rubies.

NOTE ON A STONE IMAGE OF AGNI, THE GOD OF FIRE, IN THE POSSESSION OF SIR ERIC GEDDES.

BY J. PH. VOGEL, PH. D.

viśāṃ rājānam adbhutam
adhyakṣaṃ dharmanām imam
Agnim īḷe.—Ṛgveda VIII, 43, 24.
" Of settled tribes the wondrous king,
The warden of eternal laws,
Agni I praise."

In the summer of 1932 Sir John Marshall drew my attention to a piece of Indian sculpture belonging to Sir Eric Geddes, and, with the owner's permission, afforded me a welcome opportunity to inspect the original, which is preserved at the latter's country seat, Albourne Place, near Hassocks. I here wish to record my indebtedness to Sir Eric Geddes for kindly allowing me to examine the sculpture in question and to make use of it for publication purposes. The excellent photograph reproduced here (Plate I) I also owe to his courtesy. The sculpture is here published for the first time.

According to the information kindly supplied by Sir Eric it must have been about the year 1898 that the sculpture was presented to him by the well-known numismatist, Mr. H. Nelson Wright, I.C.S. (ret.). Concerning the locality from which it originates, Mr. Wright has been good enough to supply me with the following particulars in a letter dated the 10th October 1932:

" I came across it when I was camping as joint Magistrate in the Sirathu and Manjhanpur " Tahsils of Allahabad District, in the cold weather of ' 94-'95 or '95-'96. I can't remember " the exact findspot, but think it was near Kara in Sirathu Tahsil, though it may have been " near Kosam (Kausambi) in Manjhanpur. I found it lying about in a village, and negotiated " for its purchase."

The circumstance that the sculpture apparently comes from Kosam or from a place near by adds greatly to its interest. Thanks to the researches of Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni, the present Director-General of Archæology in India, the identity of Kosam with the famous town of Kauśāmbī, first proposed by Sir Alexander Cunningham, may now be considered as established.[1] I presume that Kara in Sirathu tahsil is the fort of Kaṛā, where the inscription was found which has contributed to the identification.

The stone sculpture, which on account of its style may be attributed to the 11th century represents Agni[2], the Vedic God of Fire. The central figure is characterized as the Fire-god by the oval of flames surrounding his head after the manner of a halo. The goat, too, standing on the right hand side of the figure, is the usual vehicle of the divinity in question. The god has a pointed beard, a moustache, elongated ears and a high head-dress, the matted hair being gathered on the top of the head in the form of a top-knot (Sanskrit *jaṭā*). This is still a well-known feature of ascetics in the India of to-day. He is dresssed in a single garment, the well-known Indian *dhotī*, which leaves the upper part of the body bare.

The abdominal development is another noticeable and rather conspicuous feature not uncommon among the gods of the Hindu pantheon. In connexion with such deities as Kubera, the god of wealth, and Gaṇeśa, who is essentially a god of good luck, it is a characteristic requiring no further explanation. In the case of a god like Agni it is not so easy to explain. It may, however, be pointed out that, strange as it may seem, corpulency is sometimes associated in Indian iconography both with asceticism and wisdom.

1 Cf. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the year 1926* (Leyden 1928), pp. 10-12.

2 Sanskrit *agni(s)* "fire ", the same word as Latin *ignis*. The sculpture is made of grayish limestone. It measures 2 ft. 5 in. in height and 1 ft. 4 in. in width. The central figure is 1 ft. 9. in. high.



Image of Agni in the possession of Sir Eric Geddes

The ornaments worn by Agni are less compatible with the Indian type of the ascetic or *ṛshi*. But they are inseparable from royalty. There exists a close relationship, almost amounting to an identity, between gods and kings. The sculptor, while adorning his deity with the combined attributes of the *rāja* and the *ṛshi*, has united in him the types of these two categories which are considered supreme in Hindu society.

The prominent abdomen to which we have called attention is supported by a girdle (Sanskrit *mekhalā*). Besides this, we notice a broad decorated band passing over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The meaning of this object is not very clear. At first sight it might be taken to represent the sacrificial cord or *janeo* (Sanskrit *yajñopavīta*), which is the characteristic emblem of the members of the Brāhmaṇa caste. The position of the band in question would agree with this assumption, but not its shape.

The ornaments to which we have referred consist of a necklace, somewhat defaced in front, a long garland hanging down from the left shoulder and thrown over the right hip, and bracelets both on the upper part of the arms and round the left wrist.

The right arm, which is broken off above the elbow, was probably raised in the attitude of protection[3]. At any rate, the right hand did not rest upon the body, as there is no trace of a break on the latter. The hand may have held a rosary or *akṣamālā* which is sometimes associated with Agni images. The left hand holds a vessel.

The various figures of considerably smaller size which appear grouped round the deity in the centre, are no less curious than the main personage, and, partly at least, more puzzling. The goat, to which we have had occasion to refer, is the ordinary hircine animal, so common in India, with its beard, drooping ears, and small, slightly curved horns. It bears an ornamental necklace; its hind-quarters are concealed behind the legs of its master and were apparently left unfinished by the sculptor.

On the left side of Agni and under his left hand there is the figure of a male worshipper clad in a *dhotī* and wearing the usual ornaments. His high head-dress is somewhat reminiscent of Bharhut sculpture, although there can hardly be any connexion, considering that the present sculpture must be more than a thousand years later in date. The worshipper is shown with his hands raised and joined in the gesture of adoration. He is purely human in appearance and evidently represents a human devotee of the god, possibly the individual to whose piety the sculpture owns its existence.

The group which we have described so far is flanked by two goat-headed attendants, each of them holding an indeterminate object in his raised right hand, whereas the left is placed on the hip. These satellites wear a *dhotī* and arm-rings on the upper arms and round the wrists.

The remaining portion of the slab is adorned with six figures or groups of figures symmetrically arranged on both sides of the central image. There evidently exists a close connexion between the four single figures, all of which are shown in a slightly bent position, as if doing obeisance to the god Agni. The two figures above have their hair tied into a knot on the nape of the neck.

The left hand figure holds with both hands, two objects, apparently a sacrificial ladle (Sanskrit *sruc-* or *sruva-*) and a vessel of ghee(?) In the case of the corresponding figure on the right these objects are broken and no longer recognisable. Both these personages wear a broad band over the shoulder[4]. The other pair of worshipping figures, somewhat smaller in size, is placed on both sides of the Fire-god about the height of his waist. A very remark-

3 The technical name of this gesture (*mudrā*) in Indian iconography is *abhaya-mudrā* (lit. the gesture of 'no-danger').

4 In the case of the right hand figure it is laid over the left shoulder, whereas the other figure wears it over the right shoulder. In both instances it passes under the right arm.

able feature of the figurine near Agni's left arm is the position of the hands which are crossed. Can it be the attitude adopted by the Indian devotee when offering an oblation to the manes or ancestral spirits (Sanskrit *pitaras*, lit., 'fathers')[5] ? Judging from this detail, we may perhaps conclude that the four figures last described are sacrificers, possibly representing various forms of the Vedic sacrifice, that to the manes coming last. This assumption agrees very well with the chief function of Agni as god of the sacrifice.

Between the two sets of worshippers we notice two groups each representing an emaciated bearded person seated on a solid stool or bench, and apparently addressing or teaching a youthful person sitting at his feet. The teacher with his hair tied in a top-knot has the appearance of an ascetic. Round his knees and waist we see the strip of cloth (*paryaṅka*) still used by Indian ascetics of the present day. In sculpture it is usually associated with the cross-legged posture.

The meaning of these two groups is not very clear, but it deserves notice that the stool or bench on which the gaunt personage is seated somewhat resembles the Vedic altar (*vedi*), which is described as being slender in the middle. Hence a maiden with a slender waist is compared by Indian poets to such an altar! Can it be that the ascetic seated on the bench is Agni again as the sacrificial fire and at the same time the teacher of wisdom ?

In order to account for the characteristics of the image described above, it will be necessary to give a sketch of the Indian Fire-god according to Vedic and epic literature.

"The chief terrestrial deity [of Vedic mythology] is Agni, being naturally of primary importance as the personification of the sacrificial fire, which is the centre of the ritual poetry of the Veda. Next to Indra he is the most prominent of the Vedic gods. He is celebrated in at least 200 hymns of the Ṛg-Veda [the whole collection consisting of some 1000 hymns], and in several besides he is invoked conjointly with other deities.[6]

Though essentially a terrestrial god, Agni is sometimes said to appertain likewise to the other two spheres of the Universe. For he is identified both with Sūrya, the Sun-god, and with lightning. He is said to be born in the highest heaven, although as the Fire of Sacrifice he is produced by the rubbing together of the two fire-sticks (*araṇi*), which are considered to be his parents. He is the kinsman of man, "more closely connected with human life than any other god."[7] He is both the spark of vitality and the goblin-slayer (*rakṣo-han*). But his chief function is that of transmitting, in the form of the sacrificial fire, the oblation of the worshippers to the gods. Hence Agni is considered to be "the divine counterpart of the earthly priesthood."[8] He is both the priest and the seer.

In the *Ṛgveda* "the anthropomorphism of his physical appearance is only rudimentary, his bodily parts having a clear reference to the phenomena of terrestrial fire, mainly in its sacrificial aspects."[9] Hence the epithets applied to Agni in the earliest Veda, such as "butter-backed," "butter-faced," "seven-tongued," "thousand-eyed," do not find expression in later iconography. Even the epithet "flame-haired" does not really apply to the sculptural representation, which shows the flame as quite distinct from Agni's hair

5 According to the Vedic ritual the worship of the ancestors requires acts opposed to those practised in the cult of the gods. In the former the circumambulation to the left is prescribed (*prasavya*), in the latter that to the right (*pradakshiṇa*).

6 A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 88.

7 *Ibid*, p. 95.

8 *Ibid*. p. 96.

9 *Ibid*. p. 88.

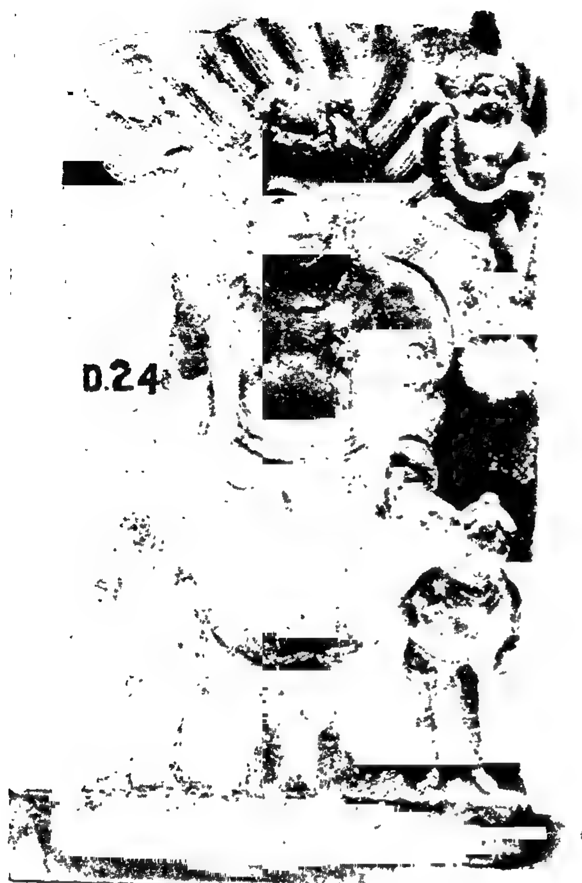


Fig. *a*. Figure of Agni. Mathurā Museum, No. D 24.



Fig. *b*. Image of Agni from Mathurā. Lucknow Museum, No. T 123.



Fig. *c*. Image of Agni. British Museum.



Fig. *d*. Image of Agni. British Museum.

and surrounding his head after the manner of a halo. The character, however, of Agni as the priest among the gods is clearly expressed in sculpture by his general appearance and attributes.

In the *Ṛgveda*, the god Agni is likened to, and sometimes identified with, various animals, particularly with a bull, a steed and a winged bird. But it is in the Great Epic that he appears as a goat. The explanation given by the American savant, the late Professor E. Washburn Hopkins is that Agni " is fond of women and is an adulterer, and for these reasons, he is presented as a goat ".[10] Another explanation which I venture to advance is that up to the present day the he-goat and the ram are the animals generally used as victims in the animal sacrifice, the cow being excluded owing to its sacred character, and the pig on account of its being regarded as unclean. However this may be, the fact remains that in Hindu iconography the goat is both the cognizance and the vehicle of Agni. In the *Mahābhārata* Agni is called goat-faced (*chāgavaktra*). This is of interest in connexion with the two goat-headed satellites in our sculpture.

Considering the great importance of Agni in the Vedic religion, it may at first seem surprising that images of the Fire-god are so very rare.

In the Calcutta Museum, which contains by far the largest collection of Indian sculptures, I can find only one specimen of an Agni image. It is No. 3914 which was described by Dr. Theodor Bloch as " a statue of Agni, riding on a ram (*meṣa*), with two hands, one of which holds a rosary and the other a *kamaṇḍalu* [*i.e.*, a gourd used as a water-pot.] Agni is represented as a corpulent dwarf, with a beard, and flames all around his body (From Bihar). 1′8½″ by 11½″ ".[11]

The Mathurā (Muttra) Museum, too, contains only one example of an Agni figure (Plate II *a*).[12] Here Agni has the usual pointed beard and halo of flames. He stands between two miniature attendants, one of whom has a goat's head. The upper corners of the sculpture are occupied by two garland-carriers hovering in the air. It is a curious circumstance that this image (height 2′7″), before being brought to the Museum, used to be worshipped by the Hindu villagers as the divine seer Nārada. On account of its style it may be assigned to the later Gupta period.

In the Indian collection of the British Museum I noticed two late medieval reliefs of blue stone representing Agni, which both belong to the Bridge Collection (Plate II *c. d*). In both these sculptures the Fire-god is seated on a lotus-throne. His raised right hand holds a rosary ; his left, resting on the left knee, holds a vessel of some kind. He is bearded ; his head is surrounded by flames, and a goat is shown lying at his feet.

What I believe to be the earliest known image of Agni, is a sculpture in the Lucknow Museum (Plate II *b*), which seems to have been excavated by Dr. Führer and which was subsequently published by Mr. Vincent A. Smith.[13] It is made of red sandstone and measures 2′8″ in height. Unfortunately it is badly damaged, the face, arms and legs being broken. But there can be little doubt that it must belong to the Kuṣāṇa period (circa 50—250 A.D.)

10 E. Washburn Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 103.

11 Theodor Bloch, *Supplement Catalogue of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, 1911, p. 90.

12 J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archæological Museum at Mathurā*, p. 99. No. D24. Cf. Brindava C. Bhattacharya, *Indian Images*, pp. 27f.

13 V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*. Allahabad, 1901, p. 44, pl. LXXXVIII. The museum number is J 123.

Dr. Führer called this image "a statue of Vardhamāna surmounted by the Lambent Flame of Sanctity," whereas Mr. Smith rejects this identification and calls it a "Statue of a boy with aureole of flames." On account of this aureole of flames, the corpulence of the figure and its hair-dress, I feel inclined to interpret it as an early representation of Agni.

Another Agni image in the Lucknow Museum (Plate III *a*) shows the Fire-god seated on a *padmāsana* with his goat lying in front of him. This very mediocre piece of sculpture, which measures 2′5″ by 1′7″, came from Rudrapur in the Gorakhpur district, and seems to belong to the medieval period.[14]

In this connexion we may also draw attention to a fragmentary medieval sculpture in the Lucknow Museum (no. 0 266) which was acquired from Śivadvāra, a village in the Mīrzāpur district of the United Provinces (Plate III *b*). It shows two groups of attendant figures, placed the one above the other. A goat-headed attendant is to be seen in the lower group, while the upper group consists of two emaciated male personages, evidently ascetics, standing with the upper part of the body slightly bent forward and arms held straight down in front of them, crossed at the wrists. On account of these attendants there can be little doubt that the main figure, which is entirely lost, must have represented Agni.

Finally it should be remembered that certain Pañcāla copper coins belonging to the kings Agnimitra and Bhūmimitra bear the effigy of a standing male figure with a five-fold crest, which has been explained as a representation of the Fire-god Agni. Recently, however, Madame E. Bazin-Foucher has proposed another interpretation.[15] According to her the figure in question is a Nāga, or more correctly the Nāga who according to a Buddhist legend related in the *Divyāvadāna* was the tutelar genius of Northern Pañcāla. The new identification seems very acceptable, and the images of Agni which are reproduced here may be said to confirm it in so far that none of them bears a five-fold crest like the one which characterizes the figure on the coins.

With regard to the scarcity of Agni images, it should be borne in mind that Hinduism, although derived from the Vedic religion, has a pantheon very different from that of the Vedic hymns. In Hinduism the supreme deities are Viṣṇu and Śiva. The ancient Fire-god Agni has lost the position which he held in Vedic times. No temples are dedicated to him, and his images are extremely rare.

Although his fundamental character is to be derived from the Vedas, we shall have to turn to the Epics and Purāṇas to find a description of his characteristics corresponding to those of the images before us. Thus we find in the *Matsya-purāṇa* an account of Agni which answers to our sculpture in almost every detail. It runs: "Let one make the god provided with the sacrificial cord and having a long beard, with a gourd (*kamaṇḍalu*) in the left hand and a rosary in the right, provided with a canopy of flames, and with a goat as vehicle, blazing and standing in the fire-pit (*kuṇḍa*) and provided with seven flames on his head."[16]

Other references to Agni from the *Purāṇas* or allied sources which will help to elucidate the doubtful points will be extremely welcome.

14 Cf. B. C. Bhattacharya, *Indian* Images, plate XVII.

15 *Études d'orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier*, Paris, 1932. Vol. I, pp. 145-153.

16 Quoted by B. C. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 27, no. 4.



Fig. b. Relief forming part of the background of an image of Agni. Early medieval period. (From Śivadvāra, district Mirzāpur.) Lucknow Museum. No. O 266.

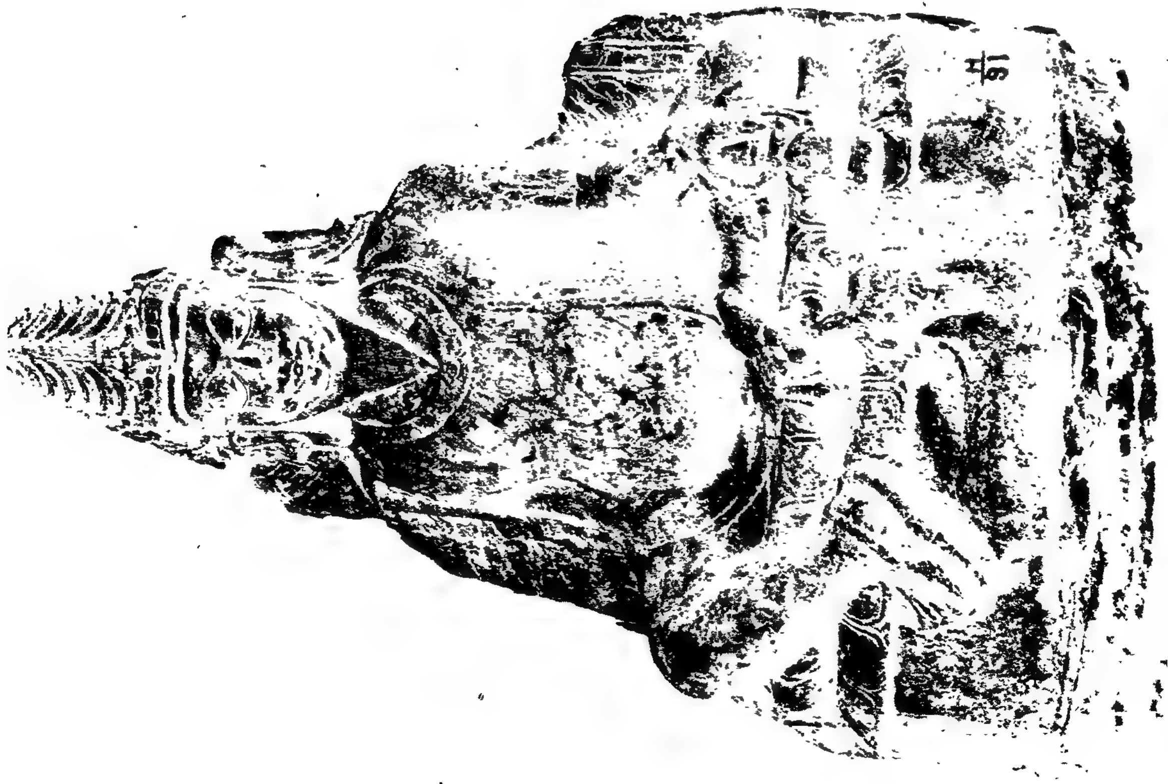


Fig. a. Image of Agni of bluish basalt. (From Rudrapur, district Gorakhpur.) Lucknow Museum. No. H. 91.

THE SUMERIAN *SACAEA* AND ITS INDIAN FORM.

BY B. C. MAZUMDAR.

As illustrating the historical significance of the two Hindu social customs noticed in the following paragraphs, I would refer particularly to Professor S. Langdon's paper on "The Babylonian and Persian Sacaea" in the January 1924 issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

I begin with a description of the highly interesting custom of yearly rejuvenating, or rather of securing longevity to the Râja or the ruling prince by observing a magical ceremony, which obtains in the Chauhân ruling houses of Sonpur and Patna in western Orissa. How very ancient this custom is, and how deeply it is connected with what prevailed once in olden days in Persia, should be considered.

On the *Daśahrâ* day, which falls on the tenth lunar *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the lunar month of Âśvin at the end of the Devî Pûjâ session of the season, a *purohit* or Brâhmaṇ priest in the employment of the Râj family goes out riding a pony with a retinue of men selected for the purpose, declaring that he has become the ruler of the territory. The crowd in the streets hails him mockingly as the Râja, and the priest on the back of the pony, to demonstrate his ruling authority, imposes fines of some easily recoverable amount on this man and that man, according to a pre-arranged method. The mock Râja of the hour then returns to the Râj palace to doff his authority at a sacrificial altar, being jeered at by the crowd when thus returning; when the ceremony is over, the real Râja, or ruling prince, puts on his ceremonial dress and sits upon the Râj *gaddî* to accept tribute of honour from a large number of representative subjects of the State. That the purpose of this ceremony is to give a fresh lease of life to the ruler in a mysterious, magical way will, I anticipate, be very clear when the ceremony is compared with the old western Asiatic festival of *Sacaea.*

It may be noted here that the prehistoric Sumerians began their year in the autumn, when the festival of giving fresh life to the king bearing resemblance to the festival of the Chauhân rulers, had to be celebrated. Once in ancient India also the New Year commenced in the autumn. The term *varṣa* meaning a year, is derived from the word *varṣa*, 'rain', and the New Year was once calculated as commencing with the asterism of *Aśvinî* at the end of the season of rain. When the New Year began in the autumn, the first two months constituting that season were named *Îśa* and *Ûrja;* this calculation of the autumn season by *Îśa* (*Âśvin*) and *Ûrja* (*Kârtik*) still prevails in India.

It was in autumn that the New Year festival was celebrated by the Sumerians, when there was a carnival of the 'Lord of Misrule,' and men and women were free to indulge in what may be said to be far from moral practices. At the end of this festival, lasting from five to six days, the king had to appear before the priest in a temple and after submitting to some mock blows from the priest, received from him his royal garments and other insignia, to reign over his kingdom afresh. During the five or six days of the festival a pseudo-king was set up; he moved about in the streets with a merry retinue, defying all rules of social decorum and decency. Professor Langdon gives us the report of Strabo and others that this pseudo-king, or 'King of Misrule' was scourged and hanged on the final day of the festive session, and on the death of that scapegoat, who carried away the evils besetting the king, the latter, as I have mentioned, got a fresh lease of life to rule his kingdom. With a distinct object in view, I note here that I mentioned many years ago in my paper on the goddess Durgâ,[1] that on the 3rd or *navamî* day of the *pûjâ* singing of obscene songs was once in vogue in Bengal.

Now it is very important to note that at a later period, many centuries before the Christian era, the time for the commencement of the New Year in Babylon and Assyria was fixed at the commencement of the spring season. Even when this change in the calculation of the year was effected the old time reckoning of the year from the first day of the autumn

1 *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p 355.

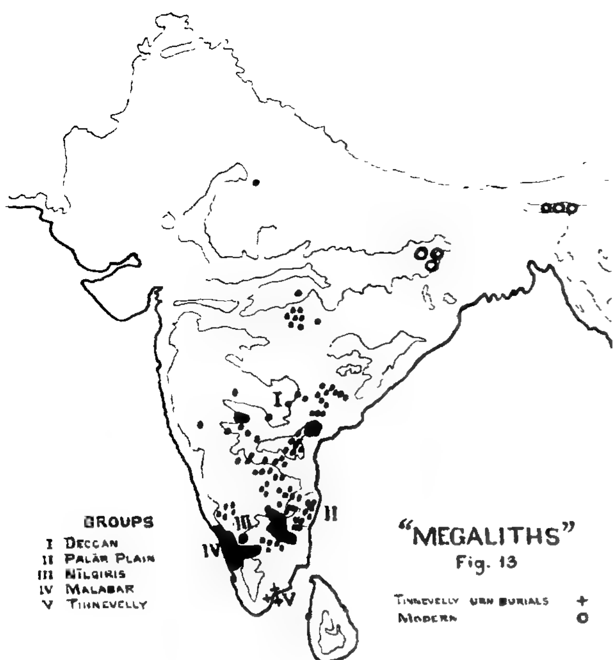
season did not fall into disuse, and in the calendar two New Year's days were set down, one in the autumn and another in the spring, and on both those days the carnival referred to was celebrated. It is also of importance to note that this carnival fixed for celebration in the spring passed from Babylonia into Persia under the patronage of Anaitis or Anâhita.

As the Persian form of celebrating the carnival in the spring strongly resembles our Indian spring festival called *Holi*, I mention here the widely known fact that our *saṃvat* era begins in the month of *Caitra*, which is the *Madhu* month, or the first month of the vernal (*mâdhava*) season. It need hardly be stated that this reckoning of the New Year from the spring came into vogue in India very long ago, though the term *saṃvat* was not applied to the era to start with.

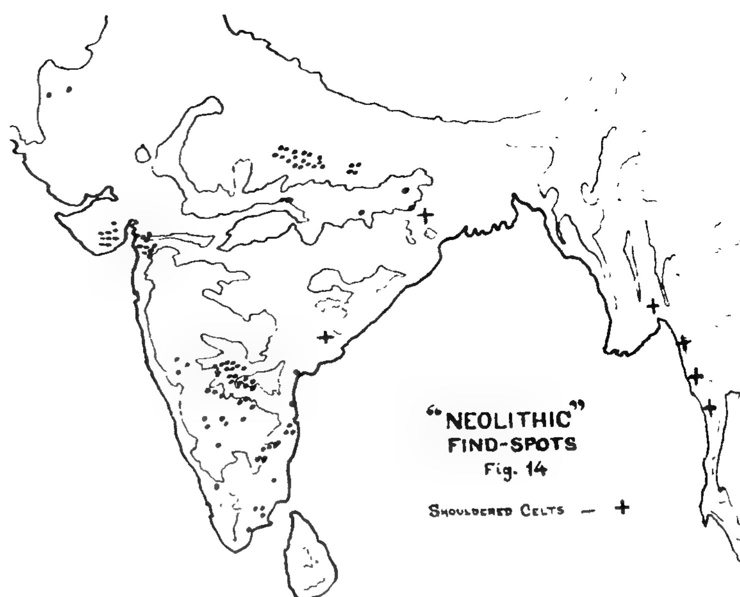
The old Persian way of observing the *Sacaea* may now be briefly described. When this carnival was celebrated in the spring, the king of the realm only nominally, or rather for appearance sake as observing the rules of the festival, ceased to rule temporarily, and a fool was chosen for the festive occasion as the bogus king. This bogus king, as Professor Langdon informs us, rode naked upon a horse, holding a fan and complaining of the heat. He was escorted by the king's servants and demanded tribute from everybody. Pots of reddened water were carried, with which all were bespattered, and the crowds in the streets enjoyed the fun very much. The people in general, men and women alike, are reported to have enjoyed these days in merry-making and in singing obscene songs, forgetting temporarily the usual moral habits of society. The fool, or bogus king, was bespattered with filth by the people, but he ceased to play the fool at the end of the carnival, and the real king re-assumed his duties in a ceremonial manner.

We all very clearly see how our *Holi* festival agrees with the *Sacaea* in several details. In many villages in Bengal the practice still survives that a fool is dressed up in a funny fashion and is carried on a litter through the streets, the assembled crowd singing obscene songs and sprinkling reddened water on one another. This fool is called in Bengal *Holir Râja*, or the king of the *Holi* festival. It may also be mentioned here that in connection with the *Holi* festival in Bengal there is a ceremony called *meḍâpoḍâ* in which there is the symbolical burning in a hut of a lamb, an effigy of a lamb being made of rice paste. Another practice observed in many districts of Bengal should also be noticed. To celebrate the *Holi* festival an earthen *mañca* is erected with three graduated floors, the top story being made the smallest. Access to the top floor, on which the idol of the presiding deity is seated for purpose of worship, is obtained by a winding staircase. The whole of this earthen *mañca* looks almost like a Babylonian *zikkurat* in external appearance. It is well-known how throughout northern India the men go along the streets, sprinkling reddened water on everybody, and how they make indecent jokes at the womenfolk assembled by the roadside as onlookers. How there should be such a family resemblance between customs of Western Asia and of India, is not easy to determine.

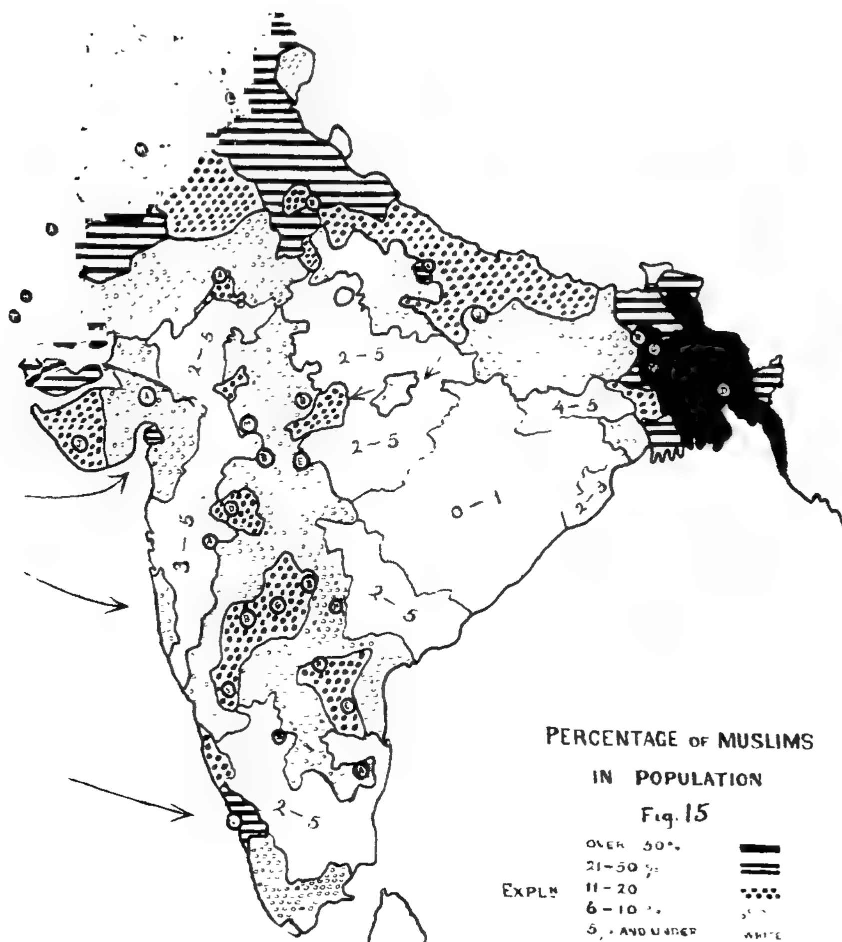
Now it has to be carefully noted that of our *Holi* festival, which is so widely popular all over India, we get absolutely no trace either in the Vedic literature, or in the sacred texts of pre-Purâṇic days. It cannot be that this festival of such wide popularity came suddenly into existence at some past time when the Purâṇic cults and practices commenced to come into force. Even though our very early religious works do not recognise it, we cannot but presume, looking to the existence of it in one form or another in all the provinces of India, that the festival with its main features must have been in vogue in India among the common people, while the Ṛishis and their orthodox successors were not disposed to recognise such vulgar rites. Independent growth of the festival in India and in Mesopotamia and Persia cannot be thought of, since the details are such as could not possibly originate in that manner. What relation, ethnic or cultural, subsisted in the remote past between India and parts of Western Asia, is a matter for serious research in the interest of the true history of our country. Attention need hardly be called to the importance to this inquiry of the results of the recent excavations at Harappâ and Mohenjodaro and of Sir Aurel Stein's explorations between the Indus Valley and the Persian Gulf. I do not myself draw any inference from the facts set out above, but leave the question to scholars competent to deal with it.



"MEGALITHS"
Fig. 13



"NEOLITHIC" FIND-SPOTS
Fig. 14



PERCENTAGE OF MUSLIMS IN POPULATION
Fig. 15

Note: - The contour lines = 1500ft.

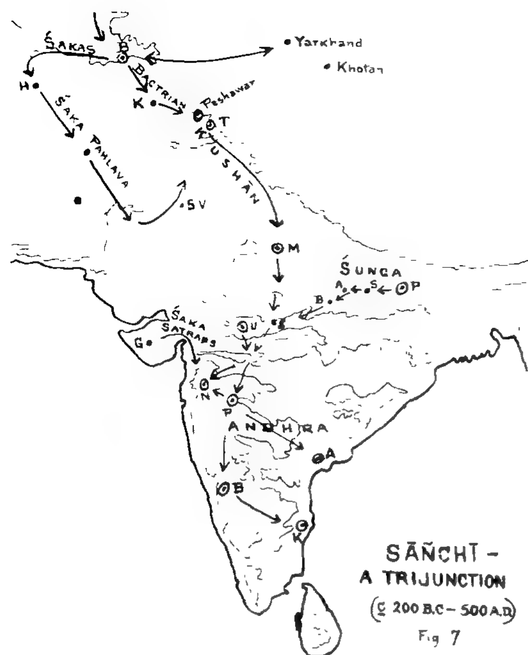


Fig 7

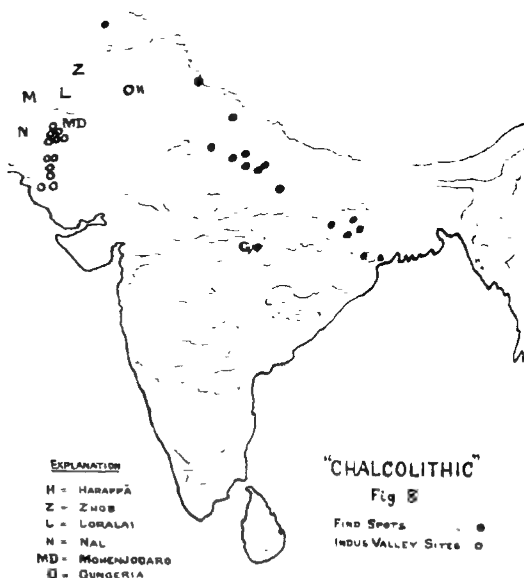


Fig 8

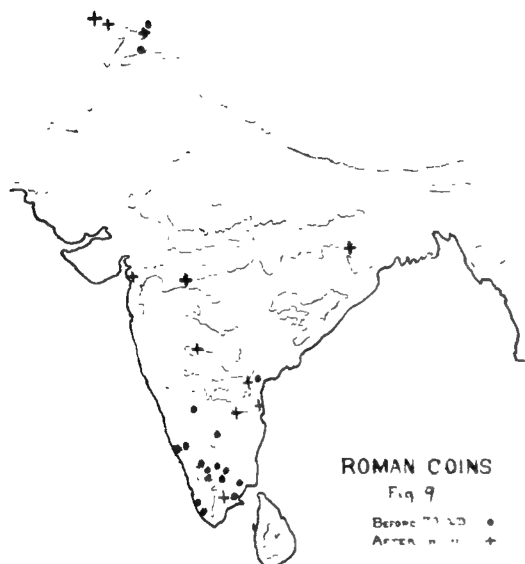


Fig 9

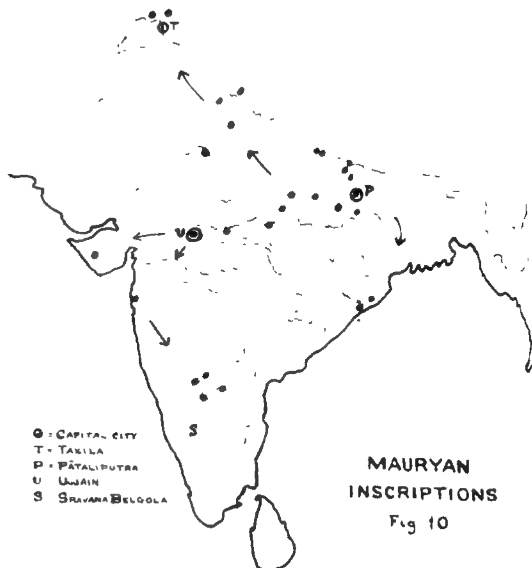


Fig 10

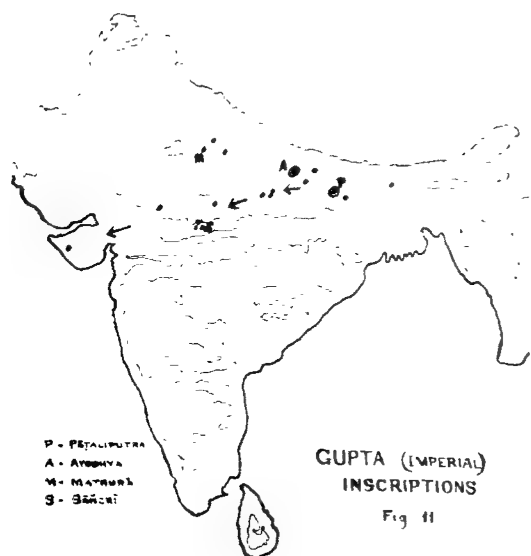


Fig 11

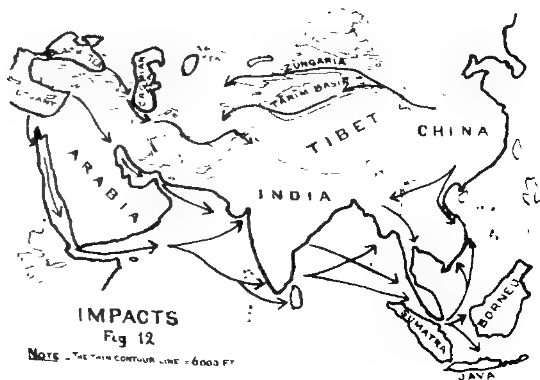
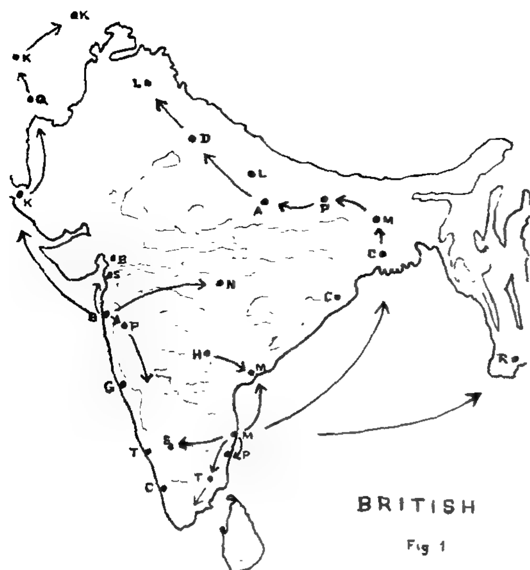


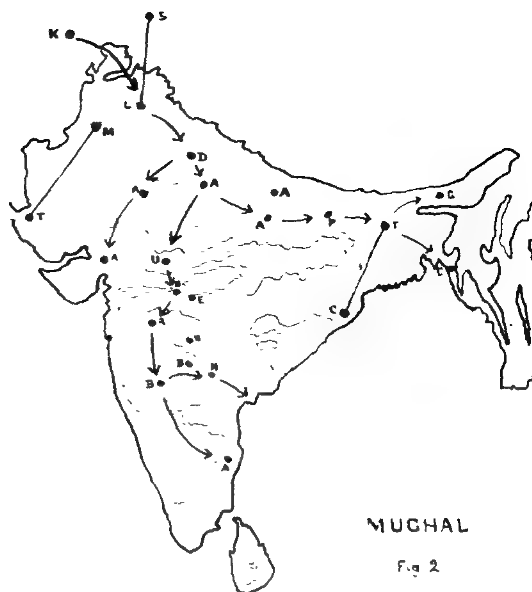
Fig 12

Note:—The contour lines (except in case of Fig. 12)=1500ft.



BRITISH

Fig 1



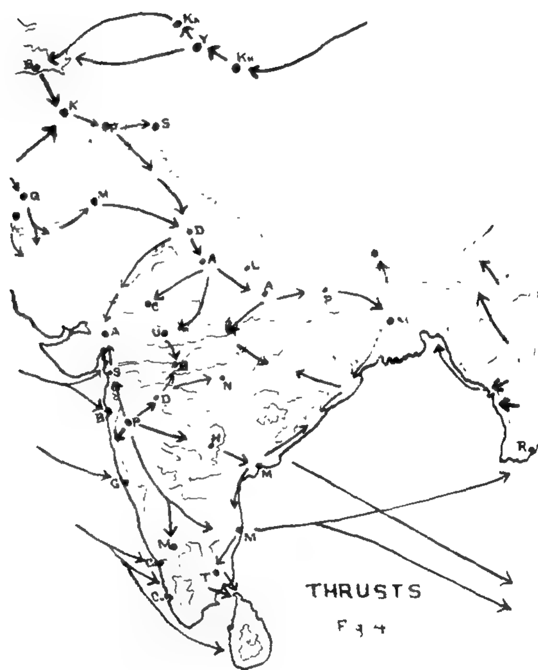
MUGHAL

Fig 2



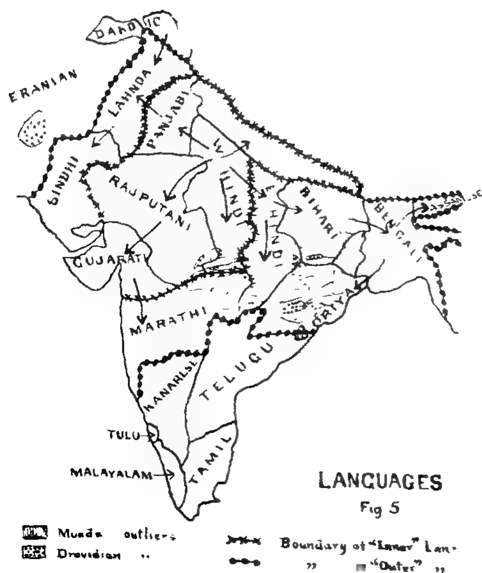
MARATHA

Fig 3



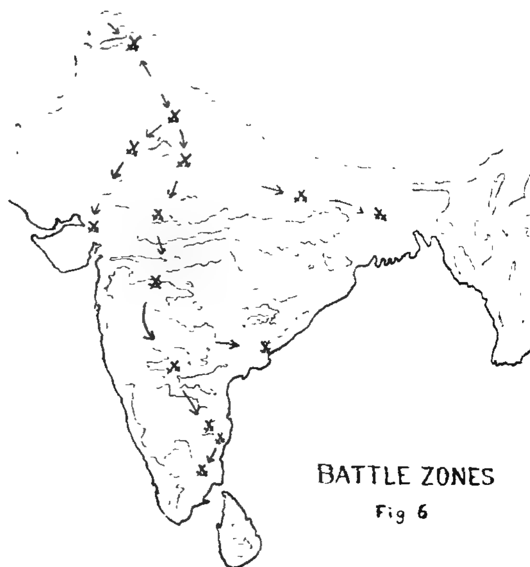
THRUSTS

Fig 4



LANGUAGES

Fig 5



BATTLE ZONES

Fig 6

Note:—The contour line=1500ft.

GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS IN INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY.

BY F. J. RICHARDS, M.A.

A trip to India raises two problems : (I) how to get there, and (II) what to do when you arrive.

I. Of the routes to India I need say little ; but an understanding of them is vital to problems of Indian archæology. From Europe you can go by ship (*a*) by the Red Sea, (*b*) by the Persian Gulf or (*c*) you can walk, if you prefer, through Persia. You can start from the Mediterranean or from the Black Sea (Fig. 12).

From China access is more difficult, for the impossible plateau of Tibet intervenes. China has struck westward along the great silk routes which led to Rome, first under the Han dynasty round about the beginning of the Christian Era, again in the 7th century under the T'angs, on the eve of the Arab irruption, and lastly under the late, lamented Manchus. The Chinese never got into India, though they got very near it, but their culture is saturated with Indian influences.

The eastern frontier is as difficult ; true the Burmese and Shans have ravaged Assam, and the Arakanese E. Bengal ; but the flow of Indian influence is eastward, penetrating Indo-China and the isles as far as Borneo. The meeting points of Chinese and Indian culture are in Turkestan and N. Annam.

II. Having arrived in India, what is the next step ?

British interests in India began with trade. (Fig. 1). Our base was the sea. After several abortive efforts, the Company secured a foothold in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Calcutta brought us in touch with outlying provinces of the Mughal Empire, Bombay with the Marāṭhās, and Madras with the French.

(1) From Calcutta, we advanced up the Ganges valley to Patna. Our next moves were to Allahabad, where Ganges and Jamunā meet, and up the Doāb to Delhi. Oudh lapsed only in 1856.

(2) In Madras our struggle with the French brought us (*i*) the N. Circars, centring in the Masulipatam and the Kistnā-Godāvarī delta, and (*ii*) the domination of the Carnatic. A forty year's struggle ensued with Mysore.

(3) In Bombay we were up against a tougher folk, the Marāṭhās, and a tougher hinterland. Our thrusts were towards Gujarāt, Poona and Delhi. Nāgpur lapsed in 1853.

(4) The Indus valley failed to attract us till after we had boggled our First Afghān War.

The **Mughals'** base was Kābul (Fig. 2). Their first advance was on Delhi, via Lahore, and down the Doāb to Allahabad. From Lahore they thrust to Multān and the sea, and northwards into Kashmīr. From Delhi via Ajmer they got to Gujarāt; from Āgra through Ujjain to Khāndesh ; and from Allahabad into Bengal and Orissa. Then came a pause. The Deccan proved more difficult. They advanced in two stages, first on Ahmadnagar and Berār, then on Bijāpur and Golkonda and on to the Carnatic and Masulipatam.

The **Marāthā** base was Poona, in the heart of the Marāṭhā country (Fig. 3). Thence they struck south-east as far as Tanjore, where they founded a kingdom ; north into Gujarāt, and through Mālwā to Delhi. From Delhi they moved down the Ganges valley and north-west to Lahore and on to Multān. In Nāgpur they were in their own country. (Their break through to Orissa was an exceptional military freak.). The states they founded in Gujarāt (Baroda) and Central India (Indore and Gwālior) and the little state of Sandūr *en route* for the south, still survive.

All these 'thrusts' have one factor in common, although they radiated from such different bases (Fig. 4). Their objectives in each case were the centres of population and trade, where wealth accumulates. Of these there are four, in order of size :—

1. The Gangetic Plain.
2. The South.
3. The Kistnā-Godāvarī delta.
4. Gujarāt.

Now density of population is dependent on permanent factors, such as fertility of soil, water for irrigation and drainage, a reasonable climate and rainfall. Trade in turn is dependent on population ; and on other factors, such as accessibility by land or water.

The movements of the British, the Mughals and the Marāṭhās are typical of all movement, racial and cultural, in India ; the objectives and the routes by which they are attained are more or less the same. I say 'more or less' because all generalizations are *ipso facto* wrong. In India there are some physical factors which are not permanent, the rivers for example.

The plains of the Indus and the Ganges are covered with almost unfathomable silt. Borings 1,000 feet deep have failed to touch rock bottom. In such a plain the bed of a large river may be twenty or even thirty miles wide, and the river is free to oscillate within these limits. The Indus is the worst offender. I shall not recite the full *dossier* of its crimes. Its waters at one time flowed into the Rann of Cutch. One fine day it appears to have gone west, near the Sukkur dam. Perhaps it was demoralised by the desertion of its principal consort, the Jamunā, which is proved to have formerly flowed into the depression now known as the Hakṛā.

I shall not dilate upon the causes of this **river shifting,** a common phenomenon all over India. There is evidence of climatic changes within historic times and before history began, but its interpretation is debated. The hand of man had certainly something to do with it, digging irrigation channels and clearing silt. Deforestation, too, may have been a contributory factor, and rivers are apt to choke their own courses with the silt they bear. But the results are important to the archæologist, for the shifting of rivers involves the shifting of human habitation, and accounts for the deserted cities which are scattered all over the Indus basin and the delta of the Ganges.

Malaria, again, is a factor to reckon with. Of the history of malaria we know little, but we do know that vast tracts of country both in N. and S. India have been thrown out of occupation, even in the past century or two, by its ravages.

But these variations do not invalidate my contention that the routes followed by British, Mughals and Marāṭhās are a constant factor in the genesis and growth of Indian civilization. The **general pattern** is simple, a sort of distorted 'Z'. Approaching by land from the northwest, the first thrust is through the Ganges valley, the second from Agra (or Delhi or Allahabad) through Mālwā or Ajmer toward some seaport in Gujarāt ; the third diagonally across the Peninsula towards Madras. Other thrusts, down the Indus valley to the sea, across the Deccan towards Masulipatam, or into the fertile valleys of Kashmīr or Central India, are subsidiary. The deserts of Rājpūtānā and the broken country that intervenes between the valleys of the Ganges and the Godāvarī are avoided, except by refugees, for " the hills contain the ethnological sweepings of the plains". This pattern emerges in most phases of Indian history and culture.

Consider **Languages** (Fig. 5). Indo-Aryan speech falls into two main categories, " Inner " and " Outer ". Linguistic evidence indicates that the centre of diffusion of the " Inner " languages (the purest form) lies in the " Mid-land " (*Madhyadeśa*) astride the Ganges-Indus waterhead, the home of W. Hindī. Westward and north-westward they pass through Panjābī to the " Outer " languages of the Indus valley, eastward through the " Mediate " E. Hindī to the " Outer " languages of Bihār, Bengal, Orissa and Assam. But southward (along the middle stroke of the ' Z ') they break through the " Outer " ring to the sea (Gujarātī), separating " Outer " Sindhī from Marāṭhī.

In Peninsular India, Marāṭhī, advancing south-east (part of the way along the lower stroke of the 'Z') is brought up short by Dravidian resistence. The " Outer " languages of the Indus valley are up against non-Indian influences, the **Irānian** speech of Afghān and Baloch, and the **Dardic** languages which survive from Kashmīr to Kāfiristān. In the 'no man's land ' between the Ganges and the Godāvarī pre-Aryan tongues of the Dravidian and Austric families still hold their own.

Linguistic differences are as significant as linguistic affinities, for the border zones between the chief national languages are also controlled by geographical factors. Thus, the Gangetic plain falls into four main cultural areas (W. and E. Hindī, Bihār and Bengal), each with its own traditions and customs, each with its own groups of capitals, past and present ; the Indus valley has three such areas (Sind, the Middle Indus, N. of Sukkur, and the Panjāb proper, between the Jhelum and the Sutlej) ; Peninsular India has five (Marāṭhâ, Kanarese, Telugu, Tamil and Malayālam), and on the flanks of the Central Indian uplands are Gujarāt and Orissa.

This grouping is reflected roughly in the traditional, but inexact, classification of Brāhmans, the Sārasvata, Kānyakubja, Maithila, Gauṛ and Utkala of Upper India, the Gurjara, Mahārāṣṭra, Karṇāṭa, Āndhra and Drāviḍa of the Peninsula. It is reflected, too, in the **Military History** of India (Fig. 6.) As the "cockpit of Europe" is Flanders, where the cultural currents of northern and southern Europe converge, so too, the cockpits of India lie in or near where a ' thrust ' impinges on a transition zone between one cultural area and another, *e.g.*, on the Jhelum, where the ' thrusts ' from W. and N. Asia emerge through the Salt Range; north-west of Delhi, on the threshold of the Mid-land; and round Agra, where they meet the routes from western India and the Gangetic plain; on the western borders of Bihār, round the gateway to Bengal; on the routes from Gangetic to western India, and on those across the Deccan to Madras.

The distribution of **Religions** is equally instructive. Early Hinduism arose in the Mid-land. Bihār, the home of Buddhism and Jainism, lay beyond the " Aryan " pale. Both these religions challenged " Aryan " orthodoxy ; both permeated all India. Buddhism lasted till the twelfth century in Bengal and in the Deccan ; today it lingers only in the hinterland of Orissa. Jainism survives in Rājpūtānā, in Gujarāt and in the Kanarese districts of Bombay, in S. Kanara, and in a little group of villages on the border of N. and S. Arcot—areas away from the main stream of Indian movement and remote from the land of its birth.

Islâm came to India (*a*) by land through Persia and (*b*) by sea. The Indus valley can be got at both ways, and is overwhelmingly Muslim. In the transitional zone of the Panjāb the percentage of Muslims falls below 50, and Hindu influences become active ; the resulting compromise is the religion of the Sikhs. Passing into the Ganges plain the percentage of Muslims steadily declines from about 35 in the Sikh country to less than 10 in Bihār ; then on the threshold of Bengal it suddenly rises again, culminating in about 80 in the Ganges-Brahmaputra *doāb* (Fig. 15). Elsewhere in India the percentage is less than 10, except for a slight rise round certain centres of medieval Muhammadan rule (*e.g.*, Ajmer, Māṇḍū, Ahmadābād, Daulatābād, Gulbarga, etc.) and on the west coast, where it jumps to 22 in Broach and 32 in Malabar. In the Marāṭhā and Tamil country, in Mysore and E. Hyderabad it falls below 6, and almost peters out in the coastal plain between Midnapur and Guntur, and the 'no man's land ' that lies behind it, zero being reached in Ganjām.

The trade of Broach and Malabar has been of world importance since the days of Augustus, and the maritime influx of Western influence is borne out by the distribution of finds of Roman coins (Fig. 9), by the settlement of Pārsīs and Ismailiās in Gujarāt and Bombay, by the Syrian Christians of Tranvancore and Cochin (with their Pahlavi inscribed crosses) and by the Jews of Cochin.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

With this pattern the archælogical evidence conforms, as a glance at the sketch map in the *Imperial Gazetteer* atlas will show. Roughly India falls into four major cultural divisions, (A) the Indus basin, (B) the Ganges basin, (C) the Central Belt of hills and desert, and (D) the **Peninsula.**

A. THE INDUS BASIN.

The modern kingdom of Afghānistān is composite. (1) Herat belongs to Persia ; culturally and, through most of its history, politically too. (2) Balkh (Bactria) in the Oxus valley connects up with Central Asia and China. (3) Kābul lies within the Indus basin, and is, like Assam, a cultural annexe of India ; it was once a hive of Buddhism, and the seat of a Hindu kingdom. (4) Qandahār, the focus of Afghān power, controls the routes from Persia to India via Kābul and via Multān.

Balūchistān is shared by the Baloch (of Persian origin) and the Dravidian-speaking Brāhūīs. Makrān, as a channel of communication, has been practically out of action since the days of Alexander, but in the third millennium B.C. it was fairly well populated, and it linked 'Chalcolithic' India with Mesopotamia (Fig. 8). The westward penetration of Hinduism is to this day testified by the annual pilgrimage to Hinglāj.

Under the Achæmenids the Indus valley was Persian. Alexander came to India to assert his rights as a Persian king. Seleucus ceded it to the Mauryas, and when the Mauryas collapsed, the Greeks pushed in from Bactria, to yield it in turn to Parthians and Śakas from Persia. Then from Central Asia came the Kushāṇs, whose sway lasted longer. Their heirs, the Shāhīs, hung on to Kābul and Und till the coming of Mahmūd of Ghazni, who was by culture a Persian. He annexed Kābul and the Panjāb, and Sind acknowledged his suzerainty. His successors lost their Persian possessions to the Seljūks, and were finally pushed off the Irānian plateau by a Turkman raid, which left them only the Panjāb. Then came Muḥammad Ghorī, whose armies smashed through the Indus and Ganges plains to the sea.

Yet the Indus Valley was not 'de-indianized'. The distribution of cultural impacts is not, however, uniform. Four main cultural areas may be distinguished, (1) the tract north of the Salt Range, (2) the Vale of Kashmīr, (3) the upper reaches of the Panjāb rivers (Central Panjāb), and (4) the Indus Valley below the Salt Range (W. Panjāb and Sind).

1. In the amphitheatre north of the Salt Range is the densely populated district of Peshāwar, which might fairly be called the 'transformer station' in the transmission of cultural currents from Western and Central Asia. Here, on the lower reaches of the Kābul river, Alexander found the city of Puṣkalāvatī. On the eastern rim of the basin was Taxila, with its Indo-Greek city of Sirkap and its Kushāṇ city of Sirsukh, for centuries a centre of Indian culture and of the 'Hellenistic' art of Gandhāra. Not far distant at Mānsehrā and Shāhbāzgaṛhī, are the only two Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Aśoka.

The Kharoṣṭhī alphabet is an adaptation of Aramaic (the script of Persian officialdom) to the requirements of Indian phonetics. Its use in India, as against the essentially Indian Brāhmī, is characteristic of the Indus basin, a distribution which anticipates the latter day rivalry between Persian and Nāgarī scripts.

The history of the Greek tradition in this area is vividly reflected in the coinage. Already in Bactria the Greeks had been to some extent 'persianized'. As soon as they crossed the Hindu Kush, Indian scripts and Indian languages appear on their coins. The gods remain Greek, though some Greeks, we know, became Buddhists, others Hindus. The Kushāṇs took up the Greek tradition, and added to it a cosmopolitan galaxy of cults, Irānian, Buddhist and Hindu. On the coins and monuments of the Kushāṇs the process of 'indianization' can be traced in detail. Kanishka stood forth as the Constantine of Mahāyānist Buddhism ; Vāsudeva, his successor, was an ardent Śaiva, With the decline of the Kushāṇs Ṭaxila waned, and a new cycle began far away in the Ganges plain. Of the rest of the Indus basin little need be said.

2. Kashmīr, a cultural *cul de sac*, developed on her own lines the tradition of Gandhāran art, evolving a style of architecture which is almost Hellenic in the severity of its ornament, and quite unlike anything to be found in India, Under Muslim rule Kashmīr became even

more eccentric ; anything more un-Indian or more un-Saracenic than a Kashmīr mosque it would be difficult to conceive.

3. The Panjāb is sterile in relics of the past.

4. South of the Salt Range a line of Buddhist *stūpas* follows the course of the Indus almost to the sea, a faint but quite clear echo of Gandhāra. Hinduism flourished in the ancient city of Brāhmanābād and in the port of Tatta. too; a reflex apparently of the culture of Gujarāt. Sassanian contacts are frequently in evidence, and the cult of the sun, of which Multan was a centre, owed its vogue, perhaps, to Zoroastrian influence. The Arab conquest (711 A.D.), which extended to Multān, cut Sind adrift from Indian life. Of the Arabs nothing of note survives. Under the Delhi Sultanate art revived at Multān, with a Persian leavening which gathered strength till it culminated in the intensively 'persianized' tombs of eighteenth century Hyderabad.

B. GANGETIC INDIA.

The Ganges plain, as already noted, comprises four main cultural areas, (1) the Midland, the home of Western Hindī, (2) a transitional area centring in Oudh, where Eastern Hindī, mediate between 'Inner ' and 'Outer ' languages, is spoken, (3) Bihār, or rather the area of Bihārī speech, and (4) east of the salient of the Rājmahāl Hills, Bengal, with extensions into Assam and Orissa.

From Vedic literature it is inferred that 'Aryan ' culture, established in the first instance in the Panjāb, shifted to the Mid-land and then down the Ganges-Jamunā doab, and finally embraced Oudh and N. Bihār. At each stage it grew less like the culture of the Ṛig-veda, and closer to the India of today ; in short, it became 'indianized'. This indianized culture flooded Bengal, Orissa and Assam and pressed on to Indo-China. Its 'area of standardization' lay between the Sutlej and the western border of Bengal. It saturated Buddhism and Jainism, which re-interpreted but did not repudiate it.

Of the pre-Buddhist culture of this area, except for some scattered finds of stone and copper implements, archæology knows nothing. The earliest datable remains are Mauryan, centring in Bihār, and of them the best known are based on Persian models ; in fact, some scholars would postulate a 'Magian period' of Indian history. But Aśoka's free standing pillars differ in many details from their structural prototypes at Persepolis ; in short, they are not Persian, but Indian.

On the fall of the Mauryas other centres of cultural activity arose. The history of post-Mauryan art can be traced at Mathurā, in the opposite end of the Ganges plain, or at Sārnāth near Benares. Mathurā was held by the Kushāṇs : naturally evidence of Kushāṇ influence and and the Greek tradition which the Kushāṇs carried on is there abundant, mostly Jain, and intensively indianized. But the Kushāṇ tradition is not alone in the field. Another factor, which owes little to Greece or Persia, is operative, crudely at first, but destined to bear fruit in the art of the Guptas, and to crystallize in the curvilinear spires and exuberant decoration of the 'Northern Style' of architecture. Its place of origin we do not know ; there are several types of spire, none of which can be assigned to any particular area. Quite possibly they were evolved from the simpler village temples of Bihār, and bent bamboo roofing may or may not be their prototype. The style survives most completely in the temples of Orissa, where Muslims are so few. It extends, with local variations, throughout Upper India, as far west as Sind, into the Bombay Deccan to Paṭṭadkal, within the Kanarese border, to Ganjām on the east (Mahendragiri, Mukhaliṅgam) and even to Himālayan Kāngṛā. The 'Northern Style', however, and the Hinduism for which it stands, were not alone in the field. Under the long-lived Pāla dynasty Bihār and Bengal, distinct as usual, as the ruins of Nālandā and Pahāṛpur testify, preserved their native Buddhism till the Muslims came.

With the Muslim conquest the centre of cultural energy shifted to Delhi. The Delhi Sultāns began by building mosques from the debris of temples. Then they set Hindu craftsmen to interpret Islamic forms. Under the early Tughlaqs there was a brief reversion to Islamic purism, but Indian feeling soon re-asserted itself, and the break-away of the lower provinces, Jaunpur and Bengal, involved artistic as well as political independence. The Hindu artists employed by the African Shāhs of Jaunpur aimed apparently at novelty and attained it in the Egyptian-like 'propylons' of their mosques. The architects of Muslim Bengal never grasped the spirit of Islamic art, their mosques are ill-proportioned, their decoration over-elaborate ; the blend of the two cultures is less successful than elsewhere.

C. THE CENTRAL BELT.

The affinities of north Rājpūtānā lie with Delhi, those of south Rājpūtānā with Gujarāt. Mālwā and Bundelkhanḍ are associated in language and culture with the Mid-land ; Rewa and the little group of States to the west of it, which constitute Baghelkhanḍ, speak a dialect of E. Hindī. They are in close touch on the north with Allahabad, where Ganges and Jamunā unite, and on the south with the upper reaches of the Narbadā and the Mahānadī (the Chattīsgaṛh plain). The Narbadā marks traditionally the border between N. and S. India. Across it run the chief routes from Upper India to the Deccan and the sea. Culturally its middle reaches belong to Mālwā. It is bounded on the south by the Satpura, Mahādeo and Maikal Hills, a cultural barrier dominated by Dravidian and Muṇḍā speaking tribes, which broadens out eastward into the Chotā Nāgpur plateau. Cross these three ranges, and you are among Marāṭhās, and Goṇḍs.

The Copper Age culture of the Ganges valley extends over the Chotā Nāgpur plateau and southward into the Central Provinces as far as Gungeriā, in Bālāghāṭ district, on the watershed between the Narbadā and the Godāvarī. South of this it did not go (Fig. 8).

In the Mauryan period and after, the key positions were Sāñchī and Bharhut. Bharhut is in Baghelkhanḍ on an ancient route from Allahabad to Jabalpur. Sāñchī lay apparently at the junction of several routes leading from the upper Ganges valley to Ujjain and thence to Paiṭhan and the Deccan or westward to the sea at Broach (Fig. 7). Round Sāñchī, where Aśoka carved his edicts, is grouped an instructive series of monuments. The Besnagar pillar is typical ; the capital is of Mauryan pedigree, but the shaft is quite un-Persian ; it records, in Brāhmī characters, its dedication to Vishṇu by Heliodorus, a Vaishṇava Greek and envoy of King Antialcidas of Taxila at the court of a Śuṅga king. Near by is a record of the Āndhras, co-heirs with the Greeks and Śuṅgas of the Mauryan heritage. Sāñchī plainly was the meeting point of Āndhra, Śuṅga and Greek. Sāñchī and Bharhut disclose the growth of Indian culture up to Gupta times ; and it is in this Central Belt that Gupta art is best preserved (Fig 11). South of the Satpura-Maikal barrier, the Vākāṭakas took up the Gupta tradition. It was they apparently who passed it on to Ajanta, and from Ajanta the Cālukyas, not long after, derived certain Gupta elements in their art.

As already noted, the Central Belt lay within the area of the Northern Style ; and it preserves at Khajurāho, Gwālior and other places some of its finest examples. Under the Kalacuris of Jabalpur and Chattīsgaṛh the Gupta and Northern styles were blended. The only part of the Central Belt in which the Muslims won a foothold was Mālwā, and here, at Māṇḍū, though not uninfluenced by the decorative taste of Gujarāt, they followed Delhi models more closely than any other 'Provincial' school. Of the Goṇḍ kingdoms in the south (Maṇḍla, Kherla, Chāndā), which held Islam at bay till the eighteenth century, nothing of distinctive artistic interest remains.

D. PENINSULAR INDIA.

Though evidence of a definite chalcolithic culture is wanting in the Peninsula, remains of the Stone Ages and of a 'megalithic' culture are abundant. Palæolithic artifacts of early types and mostly of quartzite occur plentifully on and in the laterite of the Pālār plain behind Madras, and scattered over the Deccan plateau south of the Kistnā; elsewhere the finds are not so numerous, possibly because they have not been looked for, but the distribution is wide. Neolithic celts of ordinary types are common in the uplands, especially around Bellary, and are also found in the plains; and the 'shouldered' type, characteristic of Malaya, have been found in the Godāvarī Agency and in Singhbhūm. 'Pygmy' flints occur in Sind, Gujarāt, Bundelkhaṇḍ and elsewhere. But in the present state of knowledge no inference can safely be drawn from these distributions (Fig. 14) of types so standardized.

The 'megalithic' culture, on the other hand, is more specialized, and cultural areas are well defined. Dolmens, kistvaens and stone circles are found all over the Deccan plateau from Nāgpur almost to the Nilgiris and in the plains behind Madras. A rather different culture is found in the Nīlgiris themselves. In Malabar the graves take the form of rock-hewn tombs. Around Madras clay coffins are in fashion, in Tinnevelly urn burials. The grave furniture suggests that all these cultures are connected, and associated coin finds in N. Mysore and elsewhere indicate that the culture was in full swing at the beginning of the Christian era (Fig. 13).

So much for prehistory. The history of the Peninsula dawns with the edicts of Aśoka at Girnār and Sopārā in the Bombay Presidency, Jaugaḍa in Ganjām and at four sites on or south of the Kistnā (Maski, Kopbal, Siddhapura and Yerraguḍi). This distribution (Fig. 10) suggests routes which follow the 'Z' pattern of other cultural distributions.

Gujarāt is traditionally regarded as 'southern', though all but a little of it lies north of the Narbadā. Historically it is associated with Rājpūtānā, Mālwā and the Deccan. At Girnār, in Kāṭhiāwāṛ, are records of Aśoka, of the Satrap Rudradāman and of Skanda Gupta. The Āndhras, too, held part of it for a time. The coins of the earlier satraps bear legends in Greek, Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī script (all on the same coin), the Greek being used for transliterating Indian words. Cashṭana's successors dropped Kharoṣṭhī, and their Greek degenerated into illegibility. These types the Guptas copied for their western provinces, substituting Hindu for Buddhist symbols. Gupta art did not reach so far.

Medieval Gujarāt conformed to the 'Northern Style', but enriched it with the most exquisite carving in stone. The passion for decoration, which transformed the severe traditions of Mauryan and Kushāṇ into the exuberance of Sāñchī and Amarāvatī, in Gujarāt attained its highest expression, and had lost none of its vitality when Islām took possession. It is to this that the Muslim art of Gujarāt owes its peculiarly Indian charm.

In the rest of S. India, there are five main cultural areas answering to the five chief languages, Marāṭhī, Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese and Malayālam.

1. In the Marāṭhā country the early satraps and their successors, the Āndhras, left something more than their signatures in the caves of Nāsik and Kārlī. They transplanted there the tradition of Sāñchī and all that lay behind it, a tradition which inspired the sculpture and painting of Ajanta, till the Cālukyas established their sway over the greater part of the Deccan and transferred the centre of Deccani life across the Dravidian border to Bādāmi. Centuries later, the Yādavas of Mahārāṣṭra broke away from Kanarese rule, renewed contact with the North and dotted the lava plains with curvilinear towers.

2. As above noted, the Telugu Āndhras' hold on Paiṭhan placed them in touch with Sāñchī. In the Telugu country proper their capital was at or near Amarāvatī on the Kistnā. Amarāvatī became a Buddhist centre probably in the second century B.C., and Buddhism

throve there under the Āndhras and their successors, the Ikṣvākus. The *stūpa* was rebuilt or re-embellished more than once, and the sculptures, which now adorn the staircase of the British Museum, belong to its latest phase. Their affinities lie with Gandhāra and Mathurā, and it is probably through Sāñchī that they came. But here that culture struck no deep roots, and did not survive the Cālukyan conquest of Telingāna and its later absorption in the Chōḷa empire.

3. Meanwhile, in the Pālār plain, the Tamils got busy with rock-cut temples and launched 'Dravidian' architecture on its long career. Structural experiments soon followed, for the seventh century Pallavas were vigorous and creative, and by the end of the century the 'Dravidian' type was established, owing little except its sculptural themes to any other culture. Under the Chōḷas the centre of activity shifted to the plain of the Kāvēri, and a new phase opens with the great temple of Tanjore. Later developments are rather obscured by wholesale rebuilding under the Vijayanagar emperors, who spread Dravidian architecture all over their Telugu and Kanarese dominions. After them, in the south, the Madurā Nāyakas elaborated the tradition of Vijayanagar; and it still dominates the southern half of the Peninsula.

4. In the Kanarese country, thanks to their geographical position, the Cālukyas of Bādāmi had several cultural alternatives from which they could choose. In and around their capital they experimented with the Ajanta tradition, the 'Northern Style' and that of their predecessors, the Kaḍambas, but the basic ingredient was Pallava. Then came a break. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas took over the Western Deccan (754-973 A.D.), and concentrated their artistic energies on a rendering of Cālukya models at Ellora. Their fall marks a new departure. The restored Cālukyas modified the Pallava tradition on 'Northern' lines, and embellished it with a wealth of sculptural detail second only to that of Gujarāt. Their heirs, the Hoysalas, brought this new 'Chālukyan Style' to maturity, but it did not survive the destruction of their capital by the armies of Delhi.

5. The Malayālam culture of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore is an unsolved puzzle. The language is closest of all Dravidian languages to Tamil, yet it has the highest percentage of Sanskrit words of any Dravidian tongue, while Tamil has the fewest. The Nambūdris are the strictest Brāhmaṇs in India, and in practice the most unorthodox. It is possible that, secluded from foreign intrusion by the Ghāṭs, the Malayālīs preserve a more ancient type of orthodoxy than the rest of India. The architecture, both Hindu and Muslim, except in the south of Tranvancore, where Tamil models prevail, is unlike anything else in India, and the nearest parallels are in Kashmīr. The archæological evidence is meagre and difficult to interpret, even the Pahlavi of the Syrian crosses. Yet no part of India has been in closer touch with the West.

Of the Deccan Sultanates, Aḥmadanagar and Berār (and the Bahmanis, too, according to Firishta) were of Brāhmaṇ origin; Aḥmadnagar, Golkonda and Bījāpur were Shiah; Bīdar was Turkī, from Georgia. None of them had much in common with Delhi, and, once the tie was cut, they were thrown on their own resources, and on what fresh blood they could import from Persia or Africa. Up to 1400 A.D. the Bahmanis followed Delhi models, due, no doubt, to the wholesale importation of Delhi craftsmen by Muhammad bin Tughlaq in 1329. Then Persian architects were imported, but with the decline of the Bahmanis indigenous influences came into play, for under the later Sultanates Indian craftsmen, Indian clerks and Indian languages were freely used.

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The foregoing survey explains to some extent the unity and diversity of Indian culture. Northern India is an area of shifting boundaries. From the Salt Range to the seas there

is no substantial physical barrier, no clearly defined belt of cultural transition, except perhaps at Delhi and on the threshold of Bengal. In the south the boundaries of Tamil, Marāṭhī and Gujarātī are well defined by wide zones of rough country. Mārāṭhī is separated from Kanarese and Telugu by the line between lava and gneiss. Only the Kanarese—Telugu frontier is ill-defined.

The geography of Upper India favours uniformity of culture, but the area is too vast for political cohesion; even the Mughals held it together with difficulty. The smaller and better defined geographical units of the Peninsula foster cultural variety and the development of conscious and politically well-knit nationalities. On the other hand, Northern India is open to the impact of foreign influences from the West and Central Asia. Such impacts, whether destructive or creative, reach the Peninsula either from Upper India (at reduced voltage) or by sea; and the sea-borne impacts are rarely transmitted through the Western Ghats. The direction along which cultural currents travel is governed by permanent geographical factors. Their effect varies with the distance from source and the cultural medium through which they pass; but the medium is sufficiently continuous to ensure that, whatever changes may occur, the product is unmistakably Indian.

KÂSHMÎRÎ PROVERBS.

By PANDIT ANAND KOUL, ŚRÎNAGAR, KASHMÎR.

(*Continued from p.* 199 *supra, and concluded.*)

Apis dani mushkil pĕni.

A lump of flesh given to a person of low degree is difficult for him [to eat]. (*i.e.*, out of vanity he becomes more concerned to display it to others than to eat it himself.)

Azmovmut gav povmut.

One [who has been] tested is [easily] vanquished. (*e.g.*, even a proud person is apt to yield to a person who knows his secrets.)

Begâri ti gatshi bronthui gatshun.

Even to perform impressed labour, it is well to go early. (*e.g.*, an old prisoner may become a warder, vested with authority over prisoners who have come in later.)

Begâri ti gatshi jân pâṭhi karani.

Even impressed labour should be performed properly. (*i.e.*, it should be a first principle in life to perform with all earnestness the work we have to do.

Chĕnîy phar ta gontshan war.

Vain bragging and twisting of moustaches. (Used in the sense of 'smart clothes and empty pockets.' Cf. the Hindī, *ghar kî korî mûcheṅ hî mûcheṅ haiṅ.*)

Dohay doh chi na hihîy âsân.

All days are not equal. (Cf. 'Christmas comes but once a year.')

Dudarhâmyuk hak ?

[Is it the truth, or is it merely] drift wood of Dudarhâma ?

Note.—*Hak* has a double meaning here, *viz.*, 'truth,' and 'drift wood.' At Dudarhâma, 14 miles north of Śrînagar, drift wood is collected in large quantities from the Sindh river.

Jinnas ku-jinn.

A demon met by a more ferocious demon. (Said of a wicked person having to deal with a person more wicked than himself. Cf. the saying, 'diamond cuts diamond.')

Kâni kar kâni ach kaṭhin gilan,
Sheṭh sâs shaitân tut kut pilan.
The one-eyed made a hard wink with his blind eye,
How can even sixty thousand Satans attain to that height ?

Kûl, kâtsur ta machi-t͑cal dushmane Paighambar.

The dark, the brown-haired and the freckled [is] the enemy of the Prophet.

Explanation.—This saying has reference to Shimar, one of Yazîd's generals, who was of this complexion, and who slew Husain, the second of the two sons of 'Alî and grandson

of Muḥammad, on the plain of Qarbalâ ; hence a person of this complexion is reproached as being by nature vile and infamous.

Kûr gayi tîr—yût kamân-kash kash kaḍĕs tyût thud wâti.

A daughter is like an arrow, [which] will reach as high as the archer can shoot it.

Explanation.—The marrying of a daughter to a great man's son depends upon the amount of the dowry that can be given her by her parents.

Kâkani kâkani karahan ghara, ammâ yârabal-kâkani dinak na karana.

The wives of brothers would live [peacefully] together, but the women who meet them at the *ghâṭ* will not let them. (*i.e.*, these women ever gossip and delight in sowing seeds of discord.)

Kûris ta krûṭhis chi sârîy khotsân.

All are afraid of the malevolent and the malignant.

Mĕ kun zan tsĕ kun wuchân, shâris shor andriy âsân.

Looking towards me, [but in reality] looking towards thee, the squint-eyed [is] tainted internally.

Note.—Compare with this the Hindî proverb, *sau meṅ phûlâ, hazâr meṅ kânâ, savâ lâkh meṅ eñchâ-tânâ*, meaning, 'of persons with leucoma in the eye, only one in a hundred ; of the one-eyed, only one in a thousand ; of the squint-eyed, only one in a lakh and a quarter can be trusted.' Cf. also the Shâhâbâd proverb quoted by Mr. Oldham in *Folklore*, XLI, No. 4, p. 340.

Navi nawân ta prâni prânân.

The new are becoming newer, and the old older.

Explanation.—This is said, in jealousy, by old servants of new servants, or by children of a deceased wife in regard to their step-brothers and step-sisters.

Purmut jinn.

A demon, and literate to boot. (The idea being that a wicked person becomes worse if he receives a little education.)

Pyud shâl gav pâdar-sah.

A tame jackal is [equal to] a lion. (*e.g.*, a servant acquainted with his master's secrets and shortcomings becomes dangerous.)

Qiblas kun gayam zanga.

My feet happend to turn towards Mecca.

Explanation.—Muḥammadans bow their heads in prayer towards Mecca. To stretch the feet towards that city would savour of irreverence. The saying is used by way of repentance for rudeness towards an elder.

Shâyi chukho zi jâyi chukho.

If at home, thou art in the [safest] place. (Cf. the English proverb, 'East or west, home is best'; and J. H. Payne's line, 'Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home.')

Tsûr gav tamâcha 'Izrâ'il.

A thief is a blow from the Angel of Death.

Wanana wanana chu koh tâni nashân.

Even a hill is worn away by talking and talking. (Said of a talkative, stingy person). Cf. the English proverb, 'Constant dropping wears the stone ; also the Indian proverb, 'By continual use the rope cuts the curbstone of the well.'

Woṭh ai tshana ta sûda kami ?

If I leap down (*i.e.*, incur risk), what will be the gain ? (Cf. the English saying, 'Look before you leap.')

Yuthuy zuwa tithuy suwa.

As much as I can afford I shall sew (*i.e.*, make clothes to wear). (Cf. the English proverb, 'Cut your coat according to your cloth'; also the Italian, 'According to your purse govern your mouth.')

BOOK-NOTICES.

BUDDHIST LOGIC: By TH. STCHERBATSKY. Vol. I. Bibliotheca Buddhica, XXVI. pp. xii+560. Academy of Sciences of the United Soviet Republics; Leningrad, 1932.

It was my privilege in the September number to review the second volume of this work, containing the translation of the *Nyâyabindu* and other passages in Indian treatises on logic, which provide the basis for the exposition of the system in this volume; and through the courtesy of the author the latter has been received in time for me to review it. But circumstances beyond my control debar me from attempting adequate appreciation of an epoch-making book, whose theories will be the subject of discussion for many years to come. The labour of a lifetime by a scholar of the first rank in that department of Sanskrit literature, which of all others is the most difficult to comprehend and which has moreover not yet been fully explored, is summed up here and is not to be pronounced on lightly. All I can do is to emphasize a few of the aspects which appear to me specially deserving of attention.

First let no one be put off by the title, thinking that a book on logic must of necessity be dry and repellent. For Professor Stcherbatsky looks on it as a subject of the greatest importance and succeeds in communicating to his readers the thrill he himself experiences in its study. This I would attribute only secondarily to a gift for setting out his views cogently and attractively, and primarily rather to prolonged hard thought which has enabled him to unravel the leading principles from a mass of tangled comment, and to his knowledge of Greek and modern European thought by which he illuminates his subject with striking comparisons. The method is unquestionably beset with pitfalls. For under the rules governing Indian philosophical discussions the fundamental ideas are often not explicitly brought to daylight or are befogged by the use of terms which can be interpreted in more ways than one, so that, as we know from many examples, comparison with European systems may guide us to wrong conclusions. Such a charge has at times been laid at the author's door with some degree of justification, but, just as he avoided tendenciousness on the whole in translating the *Nyâyabindu*, so here he shows himself conscious of this danger by indicating points of difference as well as of likeness, and only in occasional passages would I suspect him of reading into his philosophers a meaning they did not intend. The parallels indeed are worked out with such critical acumen that his book may well exert considerable influence on European thought. For if we accept his views, we must look on Buddhist logic as one of the most original products of the Indian mind, or even as the most original. Diṅnâga was, however, too much in advance of his times to make his basic principles generally acceptable to his contemporaries and succeeding generations, and thus it came about that his work has influenced the details of orthodox Indian logic to a greater degree than the lay-out of the system.

The treatment adopted by Professor Stcherbatsky is suited to Buddhist logic in a way that it would not have been to the more involved thinking of the Nyâya-vaiśeṣika system. The difference between the two, as he rightly emphasises, ultimately derives from the attention paid by the Buddhists to epistemology. As they took up detailed study of those subjects only which had a well-defined bearing on their beliefs, we must assume that the reason for this is to be sought in the philosophy of their religion. To have accepted the realist views of the Nyâya would have been fatal to their doctrines, and by demonstrating that knowledge expressible in words, whether derived from perception or inference had behind it only the authority of our imagination and did not necessarily correspond to any external reality, they made ready the path for Mahâyâna dogmatics. That logic was applicable only to the *saṁvṛti* plane of knowledge was thus no objection to its practice; *na hi saṁvṛtisopânam antareṇa tattvaprâsâdaśikharârohaṇam vipaścitaḥ*, as they were accustomed to say. Except where this principle of the two planes of knowledge is insufficiently recognised by the author, his arguments seem to me to be in the main conclusive. His explanation of the Buddhist theories on the perceptual judgment, inference and syllogism is novel, illuminating and convincing, epithets which apply equally to his description of their views of negation and relations. Nowhere else for instance are the exact implication of the *trairûpya* of the middle term so clearly brought out.

But is he really right about the *nirvikalpaka* form of *pratyakṣa*? The object of perception is stated by Dharmakîrti and Dharmottara to be *svalakṣaṇa*, and the perception itself is necessarily limited to a point-instant, a *kṣana*; it is inexpressible in words and conveys merely an impression of the senses, before the imagination starts to interpret the *pratibhâsa*, the image which the sense concerned imprints on that one of the five sensory consciousnesses which is related to it. It is this first instant of perception which alone is effective as being devoid of the aid of the imagination; its action is denoted by the indefinite word, *arthakriyâ*, which is sometimes explained as *paramârthasat*. The term *svalakṣana* is here translated by the Thing-in-itself, an unfortunate use of a Kantian term, which inevitably brings in associations foreign to Buddhist conceptions; and, basing his exposition on the late *Tattvasaṁgraha* (a work, of which we urgently require a good translation), the author concludes that these logicians looked on this part of perception as attaining ultimate reality. Some justification might be seen for this in the fact that the word *nirvikalpaka* applies also to knowledge that has reached the stage of omniscience, but it is quite certain that Dinnâga accepted the Mahâyâna doctrine of *dharmanairâtmya*, prevalent in his day, according to which the analysis of phenomena into point-instants and *dharmas* was true for the *saṁvṛti* only and did not represent ultimate reality. In the *Nyâyamukha* (tr. Tucci, 50) he opposes the *sâmânya* cognised by inference to the *svalakṣaṇa* apprehended by perception, and the *lakṣana*, we are told (ib., 53), consists of many *dharmas*. This reminds me of Aśvaghoṣa's phrase (*Saundarananda*, xvi, 48) that the elements must be considered *sâmânyataḥ svena ca lakṣaṇena*, "with respect to their general and

specific characteristics." In fact Dinnâga's view is that perception apprehends only the *viśeṣas* of an object, as opposed to Praśastapâda's doctrine that bare perception, *âlocanamâtra*, 'gives' *svarûpa*, that is, both the *viśeṣas* and the *sâmânya*. The standard illustration of perception in the *Nyâyabindu*, that of *nîla*, is perhaps significant; for according to the dogmatists the object, *viṣaya*, of each sense was divided into a number of primary varieties, *nîla* being one such of *rûpa*. It looks therefore as if the specific characteristic apprehended by perception consisted of the *dharmas* making up one of these primary varieties. *Arthakriyâ* again indicates that it is this first moment in perception alone which is effective and that it is so as determining our attitude to the object, whether of attraction or repulsion; it is therefore a correction the Nyâya view on this point and is *paramârthasat*, because on the plane of *saṁvṛti* the point-instant alone is real and everything else intellectual construction. How far later Buddhist logicians developed Dinnâga's theories on this aspect of perception seems to me a matter for further enquiry and on more rigorous lines than those followed by Professor Stcherbatsky, whose views about the thing-in-itself should for the present be regarded with much reserve.

The above discussion suggests the one obvious weakness in his equipment, a certain blindness to the historical development of ideas. This is plainly visible in his attribution to the earliest Buddhism of the *dharma* theory as set out in the *Abhidharmakośa*, and equally to my mind in his assumption that the form which the Sâṁkhya system took in the classical period was already fully present in its original formulation. Buddhist philosophy and logic took many generations of laborious thinking to work out, and we cannot hope to understand either completely unless we are alive to the various steps by which they evolved. But the day for such understanding has hardly arrived yet, and will not do so till all the available texts are published and the higher criticism has been applied to them.

Though I have insisted on a side of the book which rouses a spirit of opposition in me, its real value is not impaired thereby, and I would observe that a work so powerful and so original cannot expect immediate and entire acceptance, and that it has advanced our knowledge to a degree that will take much time for assimilation. Our grateful recognition of the author's achievement will be best shown by a more prolonged critical consideration than I have been able to give it for the purpose of this review.

E. H. JOHNSTON,

THE MAURYAN POLITY. By V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR. Madras University Historical Series, No. VIII. 10×7 inches; pp. viii, 394. University of Madras, 1932.

The subject of the political institutions of the Mauryan dynasty is so well-worn, not to say threadbare, a theme, that nothing that is both new and true about it is to be expected except from specialists, and the author of these reprinted lectures, who is clearly no specialist, would have been better advised to keep to the beaten track and avoid controversial matter so far as possible. In the passages where he does so, he shows he can write sensibly enough, and nothing is to be gained by discussing the disputed matters, on which his views seem to me demonstrably wrong. But it should be stated clearly that his contention that Aśoka was not a Buddhist is definitely incompatible with the evidence now available. If he had suggested on the strength of the edicts that we are mistakenly inclined to see too deep a gulf between Hinduism and Buddhism at that period, his view would have been worth considering; for it is possible to hold that Buddhism was not then regarded as further outside the Hindu fold than, say, the worship of Kṛṣṇa that must have been already in its early stages. Those who like speculation might even think that in Aśoka's reign Buddhism reached the parting of the ways and took the road which led both to its becoming a world religion and to its separation from Hinduism with the consequence of ultimate extinction in the land of its origin. I should also point out that no discussion of the Aśoka legends is of any value which ignores, as is done here and in another recent publication I have been reading, Przyluski's now famous book on the subject, in which the original authorities are translated from the Chinese and brilliantly interpreted.

Much space is given up in this book to a consideration—on faulty lines—of the date of the *Arthaśâstra* of Kauṭilya; as it is evidently not yet realised that there is no hope of arriving at a definite date till much more research has been done, it may be of use to mention those points which are fundamental. Firstly only two quotations in literature are of real importance; that from the *Pratijñâyaugandharâyaṇa*, assuming that the play is by a *kavi* of the first rank and that therefore it is Kauṭilya who is the borrower, gives us the upper limit, the author of the play being acquainted with Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*. The lower limit is given by Śûra's *Jâtakamâlâ*, but is unfortunately uncertain in its effect (I never said, *pace* the author, that *this* work of Śûra's was translated into Chinese in 434 A.D.) Next a stringent lexicographical examination is required for words such as *pustaka*, *nîrâjana*, *nîvi*, etc., which seem to belong to a late period; the earliest occurrence of each word in other works or inscriptions should be noted. There may also be words which dropped out of use in a later period. Further all technical terms and their earliest use elsewhere should be examined. Thus *prakṛti* was evidently borrowed from that Sâṁkhya school, which postulated eight *prakṛtis* as the primary constituents of the individual. Any cultural indications, such as the use of war chariots, must by considered. Finally, detailed comparison is necessary of the exact stage of Kauṭilya's political categories and legal conceptions. Important work has already been done in this last direction, but with inconclusive results for want of bearing in mind that, while the *Arthaśâstra* is a unitary work, free from extensive interpolation, other legal and political works have had not the same fortune; much circumspection is required in drawing conclusions. The indications at present point to some date in the early centuries of our era, but it would be absurd to be dogmatic till some scholar of encyclopedic knowledge and sound judgment is prepared to spend years examining the evidence.

E. H. JOHNSTON

ENCYCLOPÆDIA MUNDARICA. By J. HOFFMANN, in collaboration with A. van EMELEN. Vols. I-VII, A-J. 10×7½; pp. xv, 2145. Patna, Govt. Press, 1930-32. Rs. 48.

Of recent years considerable attention has been directed towards a group of languages spoken by three or four million people in the mountainous and jungle tracts between the Deccan and the Ganges valley. These are the Muṇḍā or Kol languages. Attempts have been made to show their connection with languages further to the east, with which it has been alleged they form a so-called Austro-Asiatic group. On the other hand J. Przyluski, in a number of brilliant articles, has demonstrated that Sanskrit, and Indo-Aryan generally, borrowed at some early period a certain part of their vocabulary from languages of this family. In these circumstances it was regrettable that so little material concerning these interesting, but rapidly disappearing, languages had been collected. Indeed the only considerable collection was Campbell's Santālī-English Dictionary. But in 1929 there began to appear the Santāl Dictionary of P.O. Bodding, which marks a considerable advance on that of Campbell. And now, before that has been completed, there has come the exhaustive work of Father Hoffmann on a Muṇḍārī dialect closely akin to Santālī. This work, of which half has been published, is both dictionary and encyclopædia. The importance of these long articles both for linguist and for anthropologist cannot be overestimated. Not less important for both is the volume of illustrations which has already appeared; nothing so instructive as this has appeared since Sir George Grierson's famous pioneer work in his *Bihar Peasant Life*. If in the remote past Indo-Aryan borrowed from the Muṇḍā languages, in more recent times these languages have been penetrated through and through with the vocabulary of their Indo-Aryan speaking neighbours. In many cases Fr. Hoffmann has indicated this, though there remain a considerable number of words certainly of Indo-Aryan origin which he has left unexplained. On the other hand he often makes comparisons with the Dravidian languages, Oraon and Tamil. These have not much probative value: Oraon is an uncultivated language greatly penetrated by Muṇḍā elements, while Tamil cannot safely be used by itself in attempting to establish original connection between Primitive Muṇḍā and Primitive Dravidian. No such comparisons will have much value until the comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages is made. Singhalese, which the author classes as Dravidian, is of course Indo-Aryan, though it contains a considerable number of Dravidian and especially Tamil loanwords.

In a work of this character and of this high scientific value it appears out of place to insert homilies on Roman Catholic doctrine, such as that on Marriage and Evolution, pp. 193-201, especially when the cost of production is borne by Government.

At the present rate of production we may hope for the conclusion of this great work in a comparatively short time. When that time comes, may we ask the editors to place all readers, and especially anthropologists, under a still further debt of gratitude by adding a detailed index relating to the immense mass of anthropological material which the encyclopædia contains, for at present there is no means of reference to a particular subject other than reading through the whole vast work or knowing the actual Muṇḍārī word relative thereto.

R. L. TURNER.

LIVRO DA SEITA DOS INDIOS ORIENTAIS of Fr. Jacobo Fenicio, S.J. Edited with Introduction and Notes by JARL CHARPENTIER, Ph.D. 10×6½ in.; pp. civ × 252. Upsala, 1933.

Fr. Jacobo Fenicio, who laboured in Southern India from 1584 to 1632, when he died at Cochin, appears to have been a man of rare intellectual attainments and energy. The discovery that a valuable anonymous manuscript in Portuguese preserved in the British Museum (Sloane MS. 1820) was written by him is due to Prof. Charpentier, who with the help of Fr. G. Schurhammer ingeniously traced its authorship. It is this MS. that has now been carefully edited with a very full historical and bibliographical introduction dealing with the growth of European acquaintance with India, and particularly with the early travellers and missionaries who have left records relating to its religious and social life. An interesting feature of Prof. Charpentier's researches has been the identification of Fr. Manoel Barradas as the probable channel through whom the information recorded by Fenicio reached, and was utilised by, Faria y Sousa, Baldaeus and Ildephonsus.

The notes alone are a veritable mine of bibliographical information, and the Index enables the reader to identify many names that appear in puzzling forms in the Portuguese text. Prof. Charpentier has rightly appraised the value of this manuscript, and our only regret is that it has not been found practicable to append, as originally projected, an English translation for the use of those not conversant with Portuguese.

INDIAN HISTORY FOR MATRICULATION, by K. P. MITRA, M.A., B.L. 7×4½ in.; pp. x + 365; 20 sketch maps and numerous text illustrations. Calcutta, Macmillan & Co., 1933.

To give within the limits of a little volume like this a connected survey of the history of the continent of India from prehistoric times down to the year 1932 is a task before which most scholars would quail, and Mr. Mitra deserves commendation for the degree of success attained. The test of such a work lies chiefly in the discrimination shown in the selection of matter for mention; and, on the whole, we think discretion has been suitably exercised in this respect. The author has endeavoured to deal impartially with the thorny questions of racial and religious differences that have so largely influenced the history of the continent. The book is not a mere list of events and dates; continuity of narrative has been steadily kept in view, and cultural and economic conditions have also received attention. The illustrations have been well chosen.

L'OEUVRE DE LA DÉLÉGATION ARCHÉOLOGIQUE EN AFGHANISTAN (1922-1932): I, Archéologie bouddhique, by J. HACKIN. 10½×7½ in.; pp 79; 61 figures. Tokyo, Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1933.

M. Hackin gives a brief summary (with references to the detailed reports hitherto published) of the results achieved by the French Archæological Delegation at various sites in Afghanistan. The volume is illustrated by a number of excellently reproduced plates. These researches were initiated under the expert guidance of M. Alfred Foucher, and continued by MM. Godard, Hackin, Barthoux and others. Interest will centre chiefly perhaps round the discoveries at Bâmiyân and the quantity and character of the finds at Haḍḍa (the *Hi-lo* of Hsüan-tsang) some 5 miles south of Jalâlâbâd (the ancient Nagarâhâra), specimens of which are now on view in the Musée Guimet, Paris. It may be said that the stuccos recovered from the latter site have revealed a development of 'Greco-Buddhist' art of which the sculptures of Gandhâra and Udyâna previously known to us give no conception. Here we have not the traditional, almost stereotyped figures of Gandhâra, but figures evidently of actual living types—of local rulers perhaps, of the uncultured inhabitants of the surrounding regions, of 'Scythians' that may have followed a Kadphises or Kanishka, and possibly of Hûṇas and even Mongols. Attention is drawn to the affinities of certain figures with examples of Grecian sculpture in the museums of Europe; and some of the work reminds us forcibly of Gothic and medieval art. One is tempted indeed to speculate as to what artistic developments might have been achieved in this region had they not been suppressed by the inroads and devastations of the Hûṇas, and later of the armies of Islâm. Short accounts are given of the excavations at Pâitâvâ and Begrâm, near the modern Charikar, and of the sculpture, paintings and fragments of MSS. found in and around the grottos at Bâmiyân. Here and in the vale of Kakrak nearby, and again at Dokhtar-i-Noshîrwân, about 80 miles farther north, we meet with much evidence of Sasanian influence. The dearth of finds at Balkh and its vicinity has been described and explained by M. Foucher elsewhere.

MEDIÆVAL TEMPLES OF THE DAKHAN, by H. COUSENS. A. S. I. Imperial Series, vol. XLVIII. 13×10 in.; pages iii×85; map, 114 plates and 17 illustrations in the text. Calcutta, Govt. of India Press, 1931.

This volume deals chiefly with temples in the Thāna, Khāndesh, Nāsik, Ahmadnagar, Sātārā and Sholāpur districts of the Bombay Presidency, in Berar and at Aundha in H. E. H. the Nizām's Dominions which date from the period of the Yâdava rulers and their feudatories, to which the term Hemādpantī has been rather indiscriminately applied. The descriptions contain more detail than is given in Burgess's *Lists* prepared in 1885 and revised by Mr. Cousens himself in 1897. Of the plates, 63 are reproductions of photographs of the temples, etc., while 51 are plans and drawings of particular features. Many of the photographs are wanting in definition of detail, which may be due to weathering and crumbling of the stone (amygdaloidal trap) generally used, or to inexpert photography or perishing of the negatives, or perhaps to a combination of these causes.

In an Appendix on Purī, the ancient capital of the Śilāhāras named in several inscriptions, the site of which has not yet been satisfactorily determined, Mr. Cousens suggests that remains traceable about a mile to the north of Marol village on Sālsette Island probably mark the situation of this town; but the reasons given do not appear to be convincing.

C. E. A. W. O.

BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME ORIENT, Tome XXXI, Nos. 3 & 4. Pp. 355+709; 83 plates and 40 illustrations in text. Hanoi, 1932.

The perusal of an issue of this fine publication always affords both pleasure and instruction. Among the contents of the present number is a paper, lavishly illustrated by good plates and drawings, by M. J. Y. Claeys on "The Archæology of Siam", which will be of special interest to our readers in view of the references to Indian influences. The difficulty of presenting a comprehensive account of the evolution of architectural design in Siam is enhanced by the invasions of different races to which the country has been subject. M. Claeys gives a brief historic survey of the varieties of art that are represented in the extant remains. The implements of neolithic age resemble those found throughout the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The early colonists from India, who carried with them their religion and culture, probably met with aborigines of Indonesian type, such as are found in modern Cambodia and S. Annam. These colonists seem to have come from the east coast of India, judging from the type of characters used in the early inscriptions. From Chinese sources we first hear of the extensive kingdom of Fou-nan; and some idea of its art is probably to be had from certain statues found at Śrī T'ep. 'Primitive Khmer' art was introduced from Kambuja, which absorbed Fou-nan, while about the same time in the NW. corner of the gulf was developed what has been called 'the art of Dvāravatī', which is exemplified as far north as Lamp'un. The influence of Buddhism then becomes marked, and we notice affinities with the Gupta art of India. From the 7th century the influence of the Śrīvijaya power is seen, e.g., at sites on the Malay peninsula; and characteristics of Indo-Javanese and Cham art are noticed. Khmer inspiration comes with the western extension of Cambodian power from the 10th to 12th centuries. Meanwhile the T'ais were filtering into the Menam valley, and in the 13th century had established themselves at Sukhot'ai, Lamp'un and C'ieng Mai. It is the school of Sukhot'ai, where Khmer and T'ai architecture became blended, that has handed down the classical type of the Siamese image of the Buddha. Thence also developed the architectural and sculptural types now known as Siamese. M. Claeys points to the architectural resemblance between (1) the Mahābodhī temple at Bodh Gayā and (2) that at Pagān, and (3) the Wat Cet Yot at C'ieng Mai, suggesting that Bodh Gayā influence passed to Pagān and thence overland to C'ieng Mai. Incidentally, we notice certain features of the Wat Mahāth'at at Savank'alok (*v.* Pl. LXIX and Pl. LXXI) that also remind us of the Bodh Gayā temple, at all events before its "restoration" (completed 1884), e.g. the doorways, one above the other, on two stages, the eight stages of the central tower (there were eight tiers of niches above the terrace at Bodh Gayā), and the stone railing that surrounds the enclosure.

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